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THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA.

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

OF THE

TENTH CONGRESS,

AT

CHAMBERSBURG, PA., MAY 30-JUNE 2, 1901.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF

THE SCOTCH-IRISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA.

NASHVILLE, TENN.; DALLAS, TEX.:
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**CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS AS AMENDED AND
ADOPTED AT PITTSBURG.**

CONSTITUTION.

Article I.

The name of this Association shall be the Scotch-Irish Society of America.

Article II.

The purposes of this Society are the preservation of Scotch-Irish history and associations, the increase and diffusion of knowledge regarding the Scotch-Irish people, the keeping alive of the characteristic qualities and sentiments of the race, the promotion of intelligent patriotism, and the development of social intercourse and fraternal feeling.

Article III.

Any person above the age of twenty-one years, who is of Scotch-Irish descent, shall be eligible to membership in this Society.

Article IV.

The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice President General, acting as Honorary Secretary, and a Treasurer, with Vice Presidents for each State, Territory, and Province, and the District of Columbia.

Article V.

The President, Vice President General, and Treasurer shall be elected by ballot at the annual sessions of the Congress. The Vice Presidents for the States, Territories, and Provinces, and the aforesaid District, shall be chosen in such manner as each Congress shall direct.

Article VI.

There shall be a National Council of the Society, composed of the officers named in Article IV.

Article VII.

During the Congress at which their terms of office begin, the National Council shall choose an Executive Committee, to consist of the President, Vice President General, and Treasurer, and four other members of the Society.

Article VIII.

The Congress of the Society shall be held at such time and place as may be determined by the Executive Committee.

Article IX.

This Constitution may be altered, amended or repealed only by a majority vote of the members of the Association present and voting at the annual Congress, or at a special meeting called for that purpose after twenty days' notice in writing to the members.

Article X.

The Executive Committee shall have authority to establish by-laws, rules and regulations for the government of the Society, subject to the revision of the annual Congress.

BY-LAWS.

Section I.

1. Any person eligible to membership may send his application to the Secretary with suitable reference and annual dues, and, upon a favorable report of the Membership Committee, shall become a member of the Society.

2. The annual dues up to January 1, 1891, shall be \$2.00, but thereafter shall be \$3.00, for which each member shall be entitled to the volume and other publications of the Society when published.

3. The payment at one time of \$100 shall constitute a life member, who shall be exempted from all annual dues.

4. The financial year of the Society shall end the 31st day of December of every year. Any member whose subscription shall remain unpaid at that date, no satisfactory explanation being given, may be dropped from the roll after thirty days' notice. Such members shall be restored upon fresh application and the payment of all sums due the Society.

5. The Executive Committee may, by a two-thirds vote of their number, suspend for just cause, or remove altogether any person from the roll of the Society.

Section II.

1. A majority of the members who shall have reported their arrival to the proper officer at the place of meeting, shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the Congress.

Section III.

1. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President General, shall preside at all meetings; but should these officers be absent, or from any reason be unable to act, a Chairman shall be chosen for the special occasion..

2. The Vice President General shall be especially charged with the duty of extending the membership and influence of the Society, and organizing branch Societies under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall meanwhile act as Honorary Secretary.

3. The Vice Presidents at large shall assist the Vice President General in the discharge of his duties, and co-operate with the Secretary and Treasurer to the utmost of their ability in the fulfillment of their respective duties.

4. The Vice Presidents for States, Territories and Provinces shall act as the official heads and representatives of the Society in their respective territories, and shall use their official influence in furthering its interests therein.

5. The Secretary shall keep an accurate roll of the members of the Society; preserve a record of all its proceedings; conduct its general correspondence; collect its funds; keep its seal and valuable papers; present at each Congress a necrological report, and see that its orders are properly carried out. His allowance for office expenses shall be fixed each year by the Executive Committee.

6. The Treasurer shall have custody of the funds of the Society; they shall be deposited in some bank to the credit of the Society, and shall be drawn thence only on the Treasurer's check for purposes of the Society. Out of these funds he shall pay such sums as may be ordered by the Congress or the Executive Committee. He shall keep a true account of receipts and expenditures, and render report of the same at each annual meeting of the Congress, when his accounts shall be audited by a committee appointed for that purpose.

Section IV.

The Executive Committee shall carefully carry out all the directions issued by the Congress; they shall have full powers in the affairs of the Society, not disposed of at the annual meeting; they shall appoint whatever committees deemed necessary; they shall, in conjunction with the Vice Presidents for the States and Territories, and also with the Secretaries of branch organizations, industriously seek out and carefully preserve all historical materials interesting and valuable

to our Society, and, so far as ability and means will allow, spread information concerning the past achievements and present aims and condition of the Scotch-Irish race.

Section V.

1. Branch organizations whose objects are in harmony with those of this Society may become and remain affiliated with the same by the annual payment of one dollar for each paying member of said branch association.

2. Installments of this sum may be sent at any time by said branch organization to the Secretary of this Society, who shall at once forward for every dollar so paid one of our annual volumes to such persons as said branch society may designate.

3. Such branch organizations shall each year furnish a list of their paid-up members to the Secretary of this Society before the annual Congress, and this shall constitute the basis of representation.

4. Every branch organization complying with the foregoing conditions shall be entitled to one delegate in the annual Congress for every five of its paid-up members.

Section VI.

No official correspondence shall be carried on nor any invitations issued on behalf of the Society except through the regular officers or the Executive Committee of the Scotch-Irish Society of America, or after special permission of the officers.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA.

PART I.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

President.

HON. JOHN STEWART, Chambersburg, Pa.

Vice President General and Honorary Secretary.

REV. JOHN S. MACINTOSH, D.D., 220 Witherspoon Building,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Treasurer.

JOHN McILHENNY, 1339 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Vice Presidents for States, etc.

Massachusetts.—JOHN A. AIKEN, Greenfield.

Connecticut.—HON. D. S. CALHOUN, Hartford.

New Hampshire.—HON. LEONARD A. MORRISON, Canobie Lake.

New York.—JOHN J. MCCOOK, Esq., New York City.

Pennsylvania.—HON. A. K. MCCLURE, Philadelphia.

Ohio.—HON. W. H. HUNTER, Chillicothe.

Illinois.—ROBERT PATTERSON, Esq., Chicago.

Iowa.—HON. P. M. CASSADY, Des Moines.

Alabama.—ERWIN CRAIGHEAD, Esq., Mobile.

Michigan.—HON. B. M. CUTCHEON, Grand Rapids.

Texas.—HON. SAM P. COCHRAN, Dallas.

Minnesota.—HON. S. J. R. McMILLAN, St. Paul.

Maine.—HON. JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND, Portland.

Indiana.—CHARLES A. CARLISLE, Esq., South Bend.

Nebraska.—THOMAS A. CREIGH, Esq., Omaha.

West Virginia.—JAMES ARCHER, Esq., Steubenville, O.

North Carolina.—HON. S. B. ALEXANDER, Charlotte.

Mississippi.—RT. REV. HUGH MILLER THOMPSON, Jackson.

Kentucky.—DR. HERVEY McDOWELL, Cynthiana.

Oregon.—REV. THOMAS MCCLELLAN, Forest Grove.

Canada.—REV. SAMUEL LYLE, D.D., Hamilton, Ontario.

State Secretaries.

New Jersey.—PROF. GEORGE MACLOSKIE, Princeton.

Kentucky.—HELM BRUCE, Louisville.

Illinois.—THOMAS S. MCCLELLAND, Esq., Chicago.

Iowa.—W. H. FLEMING, Des Moines.

Ohio.—TOD B. GULLAWAY, Columbus.

Michigan.—JAMES B. MCCAY, Detroit.

Virginia.—REV. PROF. H. A. WHITE, PH.D., D.D., Lexington.

Alabama.—FRANK P. GLASS, Montgomery.

West Virginia.—HON. JOHN FREW, Wheeling.

New York.—JOHN SINCLAIR, No. 1 Broadway, New York City.

Indiana.—W. A. BRYSON, Liberty.

Western Pennsylvania.—W. C. SHAW, M.D.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

O. P. TEMPLE, <i>President</i> ,	} <i>ex officio members.</i>
DR. JOHN S. MACINTOSH, <i>Vice President General</i> ,	
JOHN MCILHENNY, <i>Treasurer</i> ,	
PROF. GEORGE MACLOSKIE, Princeton, N. J.	
PROF. H. A. WHITE, Lexington, Va.	
W. R. RUTHERFORD, Harrisburg, Pa.	
DR. PARSONS, Pittston, Pa.	

LIFE MEMBERS.

- * MR. ROBERT BONNER, New York City.**
- * REV. DR. JOHN HALL, New York City.**
 - HON. A. T. WOOD, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.**
 - PROF. A. L. PERRY, Williamstown, Mass.**
- * COL. W. A. HERRON, Pittsburg, Pa.**
 - DR. WILLIAM C. SHAW, Pittsburg, Pa.**
 - MR. J. KING McLANAHAN, Hollidaysburg, Pa.**
 - MR. A. G. ADAMS, Nashville, Tenn.**
 - REV. JOHN S. MACINTOSH, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.**
 - PROF. GEORGE MACLOSKIE, Princeton, N. J.**

*** Deceased.**

PROCEEDINGS.

THE tenth annual Congress of the Scotch-Irish Society of America was called to order by Col. James Ross Gilmore, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, who spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: In a letter expressing his regret at being unable to revisit Chambersburg and attend the sessions of the Scotch-Irish Congress, received from Judge Buffington, of Pittsburg, he concluded with the suggestion that no more appropriate place for the meetings of this Society could be found than the Cumberland Valley, which assuredly was the American cradle of the Scotch-Irish babe. And now, in this Queen City of this beautiful American cradle, I have the pleasure, as well as the great distinction, of calling to order this first public session of the tenth Congress of the Scotch-Irish Society of America. I will ask the audience to rise while Dr. Crawford invokes the divine blessing.

Prayer was then offered by Dr. J. Agnew Crawford, pastor emeritus of the Falling Spring Presbyterian Church, after which the audience joined in singing the one hundredth Psalm.

Colonel Gilmore:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have the pleasure of presenting to you Rev. Dr. MacIntosh, who is known to most of you, and who will now make a few remarks.

Rev. Dr. MacIntosh:

Col. Gilmore, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Reception Committee: It was in the beauty of a long, sweet June afternoon, some years ago, that a number of us sat on the porch of a seaside house that stood at Donaghadee, one of the favorite watering places in the North of Ireland. We were mainly Scotch-Irish. There were American Scotch-Irish in the company, and there was an Englishman—a true John Bull—who had just returned from a visit to the United States, which had been manifestly to him a succession of startling surprises, and who was wondering all the time how it was that as he went from

New York down through Pennsylvania, and along into the southern stretch, then across to the Pacific Coast, back along the northern line of the lakes, and returned down to New York again, everywhere he was meeting a peculiar type of man and a singular type of woman, who were known, he said, in that country by the peculiar title of Scotch-Irish. And he had discovered in his wanderings there that they had come originally from this part of the country, which, turning to our common host, he said: "You call Ulster." "Very singular thing indeed," he said, "that I heard very little about the Englishmen, and I heard comparatively little about other races, but some way or other this peculiar type of man was always putting himself forward or standing in the front rank; and I should like to know how it is." Then he went on with the characteristic humility of a true Englishman to express his surprise, that it wasn't the typical Briton who was to the front, but it was this peculiar specimen of humanity; and his remarks were somewhat heated, and they were in no small degree cutting.

In the company there was a distinguished old minister of the County Down, who traced his honorable descent through successive generations of distinguished ministers who had begun and largely developed the moral advancement and the religious life of the North of Ireland. I beheld the face of my old and honored friend flush ever and anon with the deep color of dissatisfaction and his brows come down frequently with the frown of deeply indignant feeling. The Englishman finally turned around and said: "Excuse me, but you are the oldest in the company; perhaps I can get the explanation from you." The old gentleman looked at him a moment, and said: "Certainly; there are many things that will explain it, but perhaps the three things on which we have prided ourselves during these past generations might explain it. We are the people who believe in, and think we possess, something of blood and brains and bearing. We believe that we carry in our veins a pure and noble blood; and there has been all along the line the uplifting and strengthening and steadying influence of the pride—and honorable pride—in a noble ancestry. We have been people who have thought. We have even thought for ourselves. We have thought in defiance of the common public opinion—but we have always thought, and we have believed in brains, guided by truth and aided by the spirit of God. We have looked and striven for this—that a man should bear himself honorably, as one who comes with all the steadying influence of a noble ancestry; one who thinks and is ready to give a reason

for everything that he believes; and because of that carries himself worthily in the community in which God has placed the life of the man."

Ladies and gentlemen, we believe that we may say that on this side of the water we have not forgotten this trinity; that we have always thought, and thought worthily, of our blood; that we have thanked God that we have brains, and use them; and we have tried, in the places where God has placed us, to bear ourselves worthily of the opportunities that have been addressed to us; and therefore it is but little wonder that in seeking those that shall preside over our Society and be the first among equals, we should look to those who have blood and brains and bearing. We are striving to keep up the noble line of succession. I had hoped that to-night the retiring President, the Hon. O. P. Temple, of Knoxville, Tenn., a distinguished jurist and a judge and chancellor of an honorable court in that great State, would have been here and addressed this audience, make his retiring speech, and introduce his successor. We are just passing from the sway of a jurist in the Middle South—if I might use that expression—and there is a striking fitness in our coming under the direction and guidance of another distinguished jurist in this great Keystone State, in this particular locality that has been so appropriately presented as the cradle spot of our Scotch-Irish of America.

To my great disappointment and to my personal pain and regret, this morning a telegram was put into my hands stating that Judge Temple, who is in advancing years, found himself through infirmity prevented from being with us to-night as he had promised and hoped to be. It would have been, I know, from this telegram, a great pleasure to him to have been with you and with us, and to have introduced his successor. In consequence of his absence, it falls to me, and it is a great pleasure, added to the pleasure which I now enjoy of looking you in the face and standing in this beautiful hall, that is so appropriately decorated, and giving you the greeting of our Society, to have the high honor and privilege of introducing, not because it is a matter of necessity for this audience, but as a matter of propriety, the successor to the Hon. O. P. Temple. The Executive Committee, in making its selection, had regard to blood and brains and bearing. We looked out for a man who could trace his ancestry straight through to the formative days of this great republic and across the stormy seas to that resting place in Ulster and pass over the silver streak into the old heather land of Scot-

land, and down the entire line see no one who was unworthy of that line—one who is known all over this State and far beyond its confines as a model of that clear, clean, independent thinking that is so characteristic of our people; one whose bearing as a townsman and neighbor, as a distinguished lawyer and jurist, and as a humane and far-sighted patriot, carrying himself most worthily all through the days of his well-known life, has won him both trust and honor.

It affords me the very greatest pleasure in presenting to you your friend and my friend, your distinguished citizen and our State's recognized jurist, the Hon. John Stewart, as the President of the Scotch-Irish Society for the years 1901-02, who will take the chair and preside over this and our successive meetings.

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

Ladies and Gentlemen: An opportunity, I trust, will be afforded me later on to express my appreciation of the honor that has been conferred upon me, and to make proper acknowledgment for the complimentary introduction and presentation by my friend, Dr. MacIntosh. All that is expected of me, and indeed all that is allowed of me at this time, is to indicate my acceptance of the position; and even this ought not to be expected, considering my lineage. You know it has been said that a Scotch-Irishman is born into the world with two distinct determinations: one of which is to keep the Sabbath day, and the other is to keep everything else he can get hold of. With this inheriting propensity on my part, for which I am not at all responsible, having not been consulted regarding it, it ought not to have been asked of me to indicate my acceptance of this position. Later on, as I have said, I shall have an opportunity before this Congress rises to express my high appreciation of the honor, and to thank my friend for his complimentary introduction.

Then followed music by the orchestra.

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

A welcome on behalf of the Society will now be extended to those who are present by Dr. Martin, President of Wilson College.

Dr. Martin:

Ladies and Gentlemen: By the unmerited favor of our Committee of Arrangements, I have the honor to speak for them and for this settlement, to say that we are glad to see you here.

It is but fair to the committee to confess that they knew I would do it very badly, but your thorough Scotch-Irishman al-

ways prefers the last word rather than the first, and our good speakers are for sometime later in the action.

The Blarney stone, as you know, is not located in the Scotch portion of old Ireland, and the typical Scot requires time and assistance to formulate his jokes. His tongue is his most unruly member.

My friend Sandy McPherson has always seemed to me a typical Scotch-Irishman, sound-hearted and hard-headed, but of slow and unskillful speech. It is said that Sandy came home from a banquet one night in a state of hilarity that was, to say the least of it, suspicious. Next morning, in secret session, his wife reminded him that he had promised that when he had as much whisky as a Christian could carry he would take sarsaparilla. "Yes, Jeanie," said Sandy, "you're right. I did promise you that, and I tried my best to be good; but before I got half as much whisky as a Christian can carry, I couldn't say sar-s-s-s-pa-rilla, and when I kept on asking for sas-s-s-s-a he thought I wanted a gin fizz, and that wrecked me."

I hope that I shall, at least, be understood on the main point—namely, that you are welcome—and we hope that you may enjoy yourselves and us.

Perhaps I ought to explain to you that most of the Scotch-Irishmen of this settlement are not here to-night, for the very sufficient reason that they are dead. The time was when this whole valley was owned and inhabited by that sturdy race. At that time they were very much alive, and remained in that condition a good many years, but of late another race has come to share our blessings and help pay taxes. You will find more sauerkraut than oatmeal nowadays, and pretzel is a more familiar word than scone or haggis.

Whether this change is due to the survival of the fittest, or is an illustration of the belief that the good die young, you will perhaps be able to decide. We are divided on the subject here. We are, however, a unit on some things besides the fact that we are all glad to see you. We are all unanimous in the belief that the Cumberland Valley is the garden spot of the world. The garden of Eden is thought to have been located here at the head of the Falling Spring.

My friend Mr. Maurer has proved it to the satisfaction of the Kittochtinny Historical Society, and Dr. Crawford confirms the Scriptures that Eve was at the head of the fall.

In 1730 Benjamin Chambers came to this place and started a mill at the fall, about five hundred feet from where you are now sitting. Mr. Chambers was an enterprising citizen, and did much to bring settlers to the valley. In 1764 the borough of Chambersburg was founded, and named in honor of the first proprietor. Most of the early settlers came from Ireland, and it is probable that the purpose uppermost in their minds was a desire to improve their own condition, but incidentally they improved a good many other things. Just how much they did you are here to tell us. Judge Stewart teaches that they fought the revolutionary war, established the worship of the true God, and founded Wilson College; while Mr. M. A. Foltz maintains with equal zeal that the Pennsylvania German did everything from the invention of the Dutch oven to the establishment of the procession of the equinoxes. You will add greatly to the peace of this community if you only determine the justice of their respective claims.

During the French and Indian war this was not a very salubrious region. The horrors of that time lived long in the traditions of the valley. Even to this day the natives have a hereditary dread of the Indian. Only yesterday a member of the committee expressed his serious doubt of the propriety of having the Carlisle Indian band play at Mont Alto, and confessed that he was afraid of their terrible charges.

When the army of the United States, under Gen. Washington, assembled here to invade West Pennsylvania to suppress the whisky insurrection, we point with pride to the houses where the illustrious slept while in the valley. If he slept in half as many houses as are pointed out to you, he must have suffered less from insomnia than most men of his age.

Then Gen. Lee called here for a few days. He didn't sleep much, as near as I can learn. He called for a few days, I said, and he called for a good many other things at the same time, and got most of them.

Then John Brown, whose patriotic soul is still marching on, organized his army of nineteen men here, and scared the United States half out of their wits. John was a character worth knowing. I suppose he was a fanatic. Mr. Dooley says a fanatic is a fellow who does what God would do if he were as familiar with the facts in the case. Brown may have been a fanatic, but he thought he was right and went ahead, and that's just what a good many reformers are afraid to do. They hanged him just down here at

Charleston, and they tell you that he made the sheriff carry him into court, refusing to walk, on the ground that he would not assist in his own murder. There is a poetic fitness in the verses which represent his soul as marching on. He is just the kind of soul to refuse to settle down quietly in the abode of departed spirits and observe the proprieties of the place, but must be up and at it, whatever there may be to do. John may have had his faults, but he had his good points too, and was picturesque at least.

Then we want you to see Rocky Spring church, where some of your ancestors slept—I mean the churchyard. If they slept in the straight-back pews, they did what we can't do. You will see a church there that has no chimney where the heat of controversy and the fires of fervent preaching kept the congregation warm.

Then you must see Wilson College, and then I am sure you will not willingly go home, unless it be to bring your daughters back with you to that charming school.

You will, I venture to predict, be like the man here in the revival meeting. When the preacher asked all those who wanted to go to heaven to stand up, all rose but this one man. The minister then asked all those who wished to go elsewhere to rise. This man still sat in his place. The minister said: "My friend, you are not voting; where do you want to go?" "I don't want to go nowhere, Mr. Parson; the Cumberland Valley is good enough for me."

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

The response to this welcome will be made by Prof. Macloskie, of Princeton University, whom I now present.

Prof. Macloskie:

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is very embarrassing to reply to the able speech just delivered, but I think that I might now wish to depart in peace. For years past, in connection with our going around this country on these congresses, I was always trying to have one in the Cumberland Valley. This means a good deal of trouble to the local people, but some of us have a great deal of trouble ourselves. Our Secretary of the meetings, good Dr. MacIntosh, and Mr. McIlhenny, have had much trouble to carry in this matter; and if they didn't do it as a labor of love, they would have abandoned the project. We used to have Dr. Hall and Mr. Bonner; but God has taken them away, and we are trying to get along with those who are

here. I had one objection when asked to join this work. My allegiance is to only "Old Glory," and I don't want to have anything to do with a society that would not everywhere honor the stars and stripes. I will not yield to anybody for all that that banner signifies, and I do not want to belong to any society that would mean that we do not respect people of other nationalities.

You are in a happy position down here in the Cumberland Valley, as I was shown by Dr. Erskine when we went over the grounds of the old cemetery—you are in the happy position of having no pure Scotch-Irish except a newcomer like myself, but have people mixed, so that I meet a man who is Scotch-Irish with a German name, and another who is a German, but has a Scotch-Irish name. So it is a mixture. There are certain things about these Scotch-Irish, and the first is that those who came first to this country were a select class of people. I can tell you what sort of people come out as emigrants to America. They are the people who were not satisfied with their condition there, and they are the people who want to work and work hard and make themselves better. The lazy people stay at home. They can get on somehow; but the emigrants are determined to work. We find when we come to America that we must work, and this is one of the benefits of immigration; that when we come to this country we must put our heads and character to the matter, and some of us find that we can't import a good character if we had it. All that we can import is the energy characteristic of the people who have come to this country. When I see a lovely and grand assembly, as here to-night, I think of the sort of assemblies of those mighty leaders in the year 1770, before the beginning of the revolutionary war, when David McClure, whose diary was published last year in our volume of proceedings, was going back from Pittsburg after an attempt to preach the gospel to the Indians, and he met a party here. Traveling with their loads of blankets, their loads of meal, of goods upon their backs, and little children, some of them not able to walk, some of them on the backs of cows; the father marching with a musket in one hand, and a woman driving beside, a baby on one arm and a piece of some household furniture—I think that it was an old kettle—on the other. They were coming out here, and they had a hard struggle when they had to face these woods and cut down these trees and help work these farms and make for themselves a living—and see what they have turned out to be. You will not find so peaceful and so law-abiding

and refined a society anywhere as you will find amongst the Scotch-Irish in the middle and western parts of Pennsylvania.

There were other struggles. One of the struggles was to fight out the battle that they had to fight on the other side of the sea. We are not a religious association. I do like a body like this that has the orange and green and blue. Orange means the North of Ireland, those that are from Ulster, and they are somehow identified as if they are connected with Orange. In Princeton it means another thing—Princeton University, whose pet name is Nassau Hall, called after the glorious House of Orange. Once when my boy went over to Ireland and was seen wearing the orange ribbon of his college, he was told: "You must put away that color, or you will be taken by the police and fined forty shillings and costs for having party colors." The orange means the North, the green signifies the other parts of Ireland. We don't want to give up Ireland in discussing the Scotch-Irish, and we honor the green of Ireland, but that doesn't mean that we are less American. We want to join with Americans, and uphold America as holding us under true allegiance, and in this country we want to be on good terms with Irishmen from all parts of the country. I love the Irish, no matter what religion they have. My heart warms to them.

There is in this place a touch of old Scotland. There is a graveyard out here; and Prof. Harper, one of those Cumberland Valley people who come to Princeton—and not only so, but he has got one of our foremost professorships; and he is not only one of our leading professors, but an honor to the United States—when visiting his home here, went out to the old graveyard, and he saw growing over a grave a bunch of Scotch heather. Some one had been homesick, and the heather was brought from old Scotland. His heart yearned after the old country; and, my dear friends, I can tell you it is not easy to understand the feelings with which we foreigners come from home to this country. It is like dying and coming to life again in another world. I had not half a dozen friends in America when I came to this country. I felt that I had got away from all friends dear to me in this world, and that I was homeless. It was a very lonely place to be, in a college with the boys that I was teaching, and put on trial by others who did not know me and who would think that there was something wrong in my coming there; and I had to stand my trial just as if I was a beginner. But when we are here it is this hospitality that makes me feel at home—it is this Scotch-Irish Society. I have come among

these people, these who have come before us in themselves as their ancestors; I could see here their very faces—the pictures of my friends in the old world. Now, when I go back to Ireland I find that many of my friends are dead; but when I come to this country, I find a new Ireland, greatly improved; and they had to fight out the battle to worship God. The first Scotch-Irishman who tried to preach the gospel in this country was put in jail. I don't blame the people who did it at that time. At that time there was a general system of negligence of religious liberty. The immigrants—that they might worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience—said: "We will have a fireplace and a Bible, no matter what the denomination may be." Who fought that battle? The Scotch-Irish mostly.

That was one struggle, and then the other struggle. The other struggle was to educate and teach their children in their own way the knowledge that all could get in schools. The only place in America in which a man could get a high-class education was at Harvard, where were men who disliked the Scotch-Irish; and Yale was following. And there were places in the old country where men could get high-class education, and they couldn't become ministers without that. So with these common schools they educated the Scotch-Irish, and sent them abroad to preach the gospel without having graduated from Yale or Harvard. If one had come across from Glasgow—I know the man who would have come from Glasgow was the man who could not get ahead and preach successfully, that would not succeed at home. It was too often the case. And what was to be done here? Princeton was set agoing without the authority of the British government. Scotch-Irish were in power for a short time in New Jersey, and they gave the charter to Princeton without sending it to England for confirmation; and that charter gave the people of different denominations the privilege to educate their boys. And as soon as they succeeded in Princeton the example was followed in New England; and then other colleges were started out in this country, and one college after another followed that system, and we got freedom of university education before the Declaration of Independence.

Then there was the third struggle for political independence. I need not go farther into that. When we got to these Scotch-Irish meetings at first, I was afraid to go south of Mason and Dixon's line; and when we were invited into Tennessee to hold our first meeting, I confidentially asked some of the committee if the ques-

tion of slavery came up, as I didn't approve of slavery, and wouldn't that be unpleasant? "O, no, you needn't be afraid of that thing; it will give you no difficulty." I found when we went among our Southern friends that they were thankful the war was over, thankful that slavery was abolished, thankful for me to listen to the stories of war times—some of them were touching—thankful for any person who would listen to them; and they would be thankful to us from the North for uttering kind words. At that time the neighborhood was talking over past differences, and we expressed sympathy, and they were thankful for this. And some of them would come to our place of meeting, and they would be astonished to find that they were treated so kindly. At Dr. Hall's sermon in the theater in Atlanta, Ga., I saw old men in leading positions wipe the tears rolling down from their eyes, as the sermon reminded them of the old times on the other side of the ocean; and Dr. Hall's sermons may have paved the way so that we are now one people.

I can only say it is delightful to observe the excellent arrangements you have here. Here is the book that I consider the most important document that was ever written about the Scotch-Irish people. Where was it published? In a place called Chambersburg, Pa. Who was the writer of it? His name was George Chambers. What was his position? I suspect he was in a similar position to our chairman. And if Dr. MacIntosh, who has most to do with our yearly proceedings, will be able to find room for it—this is difficult for us to get now, and it has been published a good while ago—I think he should publish it in the next volume of our proceedings. The first thing I had to do in the Scotch-Irish Society was to study its history, and I have had to study this book. It was anonymous at first, but it was attributed to the Scotch-Irish of Chambersburg. This town is the head center of the Scotch-Irish people, and it is delightful for me to see that we will have a good meeting here.

One other thing, and I am done. What we want is information that you can give us, not that we can give you. We want the local people, if there are any old manuscripts, or old family records, to tell us where they are; we want them. If you give us any valuable ones, I will have them put in a place in the university where they will not be lost, and you can give us the information. We don't come to give you, but we come to gather information that you have in your own homes and family records.

Col. James Ross Gilmore:

I am requested by Dr. MacIntosh to read the announcement of papers and addresses which we expect to hear during the Congress.

Col. Gilmore then read the announcement for the succeeding days of the Congress.

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

The audience will now have the pleasure of listening to a paper entitled "One or Two Other Scotch-Irishmen," written by a representative of this race, whose forbears were from this county. It gives me great pleasure to present Mr. Alexander Armstrong, of Hagerstown.

Mr. Alexander Armstrong:

My Scotch-Irish friend, Col. Gilmore, asked me to prepare a short paper to be read at one of the meetings of this Society, and from the title of it you may understand that I didn't expect to come in at this stage of the proceedings: "One or Two Other Scotch-Irishmen."

Taking the keynote from Dr. MacIntosh, not knowing certainly the purposes of this Society, I took it for granted that, as it was meeting for the first time in the Cumberland Valley, the idea would be to gather up personal references to Scotch-Irishmen who had held conspicuous positions in this valley (as they have over the entire country), and that we were to have bits of local history; and living in Maryland, just beyond the Mason and Dixon line, and in a very narrow section of the country there, bounded on the east by the South Mountain, on the west by the North Mountain, on the north by Mason and Dixon's line, and on the south by the Potomac River, I thought I would bring you some knowledge of a few Scotch-Irishmen who lived there. They were unique personalities, particularly one of them; and I have prepared this paper with reference to the Scotch-Irishmen who occupied in early times that section of this country—that little narrow valley bounded by the mountains and by Mason and Dixon's line and by the Potomac River.

I would like to say, in regard to this paper, that at the hotel this evening (I came over here to attend this meeting because of a previous engagement I have at home to-morrow which may prevent my coming here), when Col. Gilmore asked me about the length of this paper, and I told him I hadn't read it yet, he was very much

surprised, and expected, I think, that I would give you a longer paper; but I am giving you now the first reading of this paper.

(For Mr. Armstrong's paper, see Part II.)

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

While the Scots were devoted to their Sundays, they were distinguished as well for their minstrels, and the audience will now listen to some of that.

The following songs were then rendered by Miss Elsie Stewart: "Scots, Wha' Hae?" and "Comin' Thro' the Rye."

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

A distinguished Englishman, who made a very close study of American history and the conditions of American life, once said that there were two things which necessarily insured success in America. One was to be born in New England; the other was to leave New England at the right time. I have often thought of the corresponding advantages of birth in the Cumberland Valley. Of course it is permitted to only a select few to be born here. Those who haven't had that privilege can do the next best thing, which is to come into the Valley as early as they can in their lives, and to spend as much of their early life as they conveniently can here. Then, when they want a field for larger, wider activity, they can carry into that field the vigor and inspiration which they get in the Cumberland Valley, and which they can get no place else. This has been followed by a great many people to their personal advantage, and we have one conspicuous illustration of it here to-night. We have here to-night a distinguished Scotch-Irishman. That was to his advantage. He was denied the advantage, however, of having been born in the Cumberland Valley. He did the next best thing: he came here as early as he could, spent the early years of his life here, then went away and won distinction much wider, more extensive, than that which he could have gained had he remained in the Cumberland Valley. He comes back to us full of honors, and we are glad to see him; and if he only knew how much we esteemed him, and how affectionate was our regard for him, he would come more frequently. It gives me great pleasure to present to you to-night Col. McClure, now of Philadelphia, but once of Chambersburg.

Col. A. K. McClure:

Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen: I come here without any historical paper to present you or any prepared speech. I was in-

formed that I would be wanted, sometime during the evening, to fill in with a fifteen minutes' talk. I was not told what subject I was going to talk on, nor was it suggested what I was to talk about. So that is the situation in which I am placed. On an occasion of this kind any one who has intelligence, who has given any attention to the history of the Scotch-Irish race, need not be at a loss for a topic, even though a hundred had spoken. But there is one feature of this Scotch-Irish movement, as represented by the Society, which I desire very forcibly to impress upon every member of the association, and especially upon the young men who are to take up this work and continue it when the old ones have passed away. It may seem strange when I say to you that in 1889, when the first Scotch-Irish Congress was called to meet at Columbia, Tenn., I was notified by some of those who had it in charge that I would be expected to deliver an address on "Scotch-Irish Achievements." I accepted, and intended to give a day to the study of the subject and compiling the many achievements of the Scotch-Irish people, and therefore I let the matter go until a very short time before the meeting of the Congress. To my surprise, when I attempted to find, in any connected form, the history of Scotch-Irish achievements, it was absolutely not to be found anywhere in our literature. The race had won the greatest achievements in the history of the world; it had been the most illustrious in the history of our people; and that people had passed away absolutely without a history. They were created by deeds, by works, and not by profession. And yet I have never heard them accused of excessive modesty; I don't believe it belongs to them. The one thing is that they have not done anything to preserve their history; and even to-day, to start out to discover what the Scotch-Irish have done, and how they did it, when you go beyond the records of this association you are absolutely at sea without a sail or rudder. Of course you couldn't write the history of anything that was of great achievement without saying something about the Scotch-Irish, though it is fragmentary in the history of this, that, and everything else—in the history of religion, education, progress, and everything else that has ennobled man and made him better, nobler, purer. In all these things the story of the Scotch-Irish is told incidentally, but there is not a connected history of the achievements and works of the Scotch-Irish race in our literature to-day. Now look how we stand in contrast—or in competition, if you please—with the history of New England, with all the other races; of the Quaker

—the Quakers, with all their demure modesty, pretending that they assumed nothing; people who professed to do, and not to speak—why, there are more Quaker histories of Quaker achievements than could be written in years. They tell not only everything they did do, but a great deal they didn't do, and they claim credit for many things for which they are not entitled to credit, and they hide from the world many things which they are ashamed of; but they tell the story of the Scotch-Irish—everything to their discredit. They tell what a persistent, troublesome, unmanageable people the Scotch-Irish were in the early days of the country, when they were in this valley, in this Falling Spring.

Turn back to the records of the State, and there are the Quakers opposing the Scotch-Irish, who came with a Bible in one hand and a rifle in the other, and declaring they were a pestiferous element and should be driven from the province. Turn to the Puritans, and if any one would undertake to read all the stories of Puritan achievements, Munchausen would be made absolutely pale. They have accomplished everything. There was no good done anywhere, no grand achievement in the history of our government and the progress of liberty and of religion, of morality, education, or anything, that the Puritans didn't do. They don't tell about the Salem witchcraft. They don't tell the many discreditable things they did, but they tell everything they really did do, and then they tell it over again, and then they tell it over and over and over again; and the only things where they became progressive were in many of the great moments in the history of the country. There is not a single race that has taken part, that has been a factor in the progress of our civilization that has not a connected history but the Scotch-Irish, and there is one whose works are patent wherever you go, in every movement, in every channel for the advancement of civilization, of religion, of education, and of everything that makes man and woman better. Now, this is wrong, and let me say to you, it should be corrected as far as it is possible to do it now. Very much of the Scotch-Irish—I mean of details which are essential to a proper understanding of history—very many of these things, hundreds and hundreds of them, have been lost by the death of people who possessed only the means of furnishing them; but there are yet many in every part of our country who could contribute most important historical lessons, telling of the achievements of the Scotch-Irish people from the beginning of their advent in this country. There is none who participated in

the most important moments that are related in history, but there are hundreds and hundreds of educated Scotch-Irish people who have access to archives in their immediate locality and information, all of which should be preserved and should be furnished to this organization for the purpose of maintaining a just appreciation, a just giving out of knowledge as to what the Scotch-Irish people have done. I do earnestly appeal, not only to the officers and active members of this association, but I appeal to every young Scotch-Irishman within the reach of my voice or who may read the proceedings of this Congress, to make it a matter of personal effort, a matter of personal reflection, a matter of earnest personal effort, to bring out every historical fact that can be brought out that will contribute to the history of this great race. I do not claim that God made the Scotch-Irish people better than others. They were made not by themselves; they were not the immediate creation of God Almighty himself as a race; they were not created in a day, in a week, in a month, in a year, or in a century. They came about by evolution, in sacrifice, in earnest sacrifice, in devotion to faith, in devotion to religion, in devotion to conscience, and they fought their battle not only through decades, but through centuries, until the hardness of the battle made the Scotch-Irish what it is, and dominated all within its reach. It was this education, this evolution, that made the Scotch-Irish dominate because of the earnest, tireless work in support of his convictions. His faith first of all in God, and next in his country; and the man who is positive, earnest, prayerful, conscientious, and sleepless in defense of his cause, call him Scotch-Irish, Quaker, or what you will, he is the man who will rule and dominate wherever he has his hold. A gentleman said to you this evening that this was once a Scotch-Irish community; that the Scotch-Irish are dead, they have passed away, they have ceased to rule or dominate this most beautiful valley; that they are not here as they once were. They are here mingled with the Germans, and every class and condition, every race in the community, is going on, progressing in intelligence, in all that is beautiful, in all that is good, in all that adds to prosperity, the logical fruits of what have been placed here by the Scotch-Irish. But the whole of the story is not told. The Scotch-Irish are not dead. The Scotch-Irish of the Cumberland Valley are not here, because in this country, as in the past, they have always found new fields for their labors, where they were more needed than at their homes. None will contend that the Scotch-Irish have perished. None will contend that they have be-

come apostate to their faith. None will contend that they are any less Scotch-Irish in conviction than they were in the past. Where are they? I have recently gone across our entire great country, have seen every center of civilization upon the great thoroughfares over which I passed. I did not find one where civilization had made progress in which I did not find the Scotch-Irishman. There is not a new field from the East to the West, from the Northern lakes to the Southern gulf, where there has been progress in the highest standards of civilization, that there the Scotch-Irish had not gone, and largely because he has gone its advancement is due. The whole world is his field, and here of all places the whole continent is his home. And the Scotch-Irishmen who once lived in the Cumberland Valley, whose children grew up, educated at the finest schools and academies and colleges, finding new fields to the west and south and north, have gone, as they have always gone, to carry their broad civilization to communities which had it not, and they have never gone in vain. You will find them in the Rocky Mountains, in the beautiful valleys, find them upon the slopes of the Pacific and genial climate of Southern California, even down in the homes of Mexico. I went nowhere from the Pacific to the center of the power of President Diaz, but that where I found civilization there I found the Scotch-Irishman. He is writing his records to-day just as he has written them ever in the past, and as in the past he writes no history. He accomplishes his good work. He goes on in the performance of his duty, and he retires to history. I earnestly appeal to the friends who would have justice done to the Scotch-Irish race that they will make it an earnest purpose on their part to appeal for historical contributions wherever they can be found. We have been most faithless to ourselves; we have been most faithless to our grand ancestors, who were the fathers of the liberty we now enjoy, and without whom liberty would not have been declared or won. Surely such a people are entitled to have the truth of their history written.

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

The audience will now be treated to a little more minstrelsy.

Miss M. Rose Flautt then sung: "I'm Wearing Awa', Jean."

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

The exercises of the Scotch-Irish Congress will be continued tomorrow at Mont Alto. We hope for clear skies and a large attendance at these Scotch-Irish meetings.

MONT ALTO PARK.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Scotch-Irish Congress convened at Mont Alto Park May 31, 1901, at 11 A.M.

The session was opened with music by the Carlisle Indian School Band, a musical organization of great merit, and the numbers rendered were received by the audience with approval and were encored repeatedly.

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

The exercises will be opened by invocation by Rev. Dr. Norcross.

Rev. Dr. Norcross:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we thank and praise Thee for all Thy goodness, and we ask for the help of the Holy Spirit that we may be engaged in all these services with divine guidance; that that Spirit may come into our hearts and help us, and that as we recall all the deeds of our fathers, help us to realize our dependence upon Thee; and while we thank God for those who have gone before us, Lord, make us faithful, that we may be worthy of them. Be with us, O Thou great Spirit, to-day, and help us that we may honor and glorify Thee as we attempt to study the things that pertain to the great race of people that Thou didst call out of the old world to bring into this new world the blessings of civilization and religion. God, help us to be worthy of them, and so guide our spirit that we may lead to the truth, the truth that makes us ever strong; for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

Rev. Dr. MacIntosh, of Philadelphia, is the Vice President of this Society. It is very desirable that he should make to this audience a statement of the nature of this Society and its character and purpose, and I now introduce Dr. MacIntosh for that purpose.

Rev. Dr. J. S. MacIntosh:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: As some of you heard last night from Col. McClure, up to the year 1889 nothing had been done in this country to preserve in a formal way the history of that great body of the nation, commonly known as Scotch-Irish, being some of them themselves natives born in Ulster, and many more of them being the descendants of those who, by the usage of common speech and ordinary description, have been gathered together under the broad term of Scotch-Irish. It might be more

correct, historically speaking, to speak of them as the men or the Puritans of Ulster. They are not exclusively of Scotch-Irish descent. They are like our own Americans of the latter constitutional and progressive period—a strikingly composite people; but they have become known by the term Scotch-Irish in this country.

In 1888 there were several men who became somewhat, and properly, exercised in their minds that there had been no recognition of this very distinguished and influential section of our American colonists and our American people. These men came together through correspondence, arrangements were made for a general convocation in Tennessee, and our first meeting was held at Columbia. It was a remarkable meeting. Men from all sections of the country; men representing the various Christian Churches of the land; men of all shades of political opinion gathered there together, and the Society was founded and in large measure organized. There were two things, ladies and gentlemen, laid down from the very beginning—that the Society should not be either sectarian or political. These things, while in themselves very proper and having their necessary places, may be with just as great propriety, and by as true a law of necessity, excluded from certain organizations; and they were definitely and, in my judgment, most wisely excluded from this Society.

The idea of the Society was, first, racial. There were in this country other racial societies. There were the New England Society, the Huguenot Society, the Holland Society, and others; and the time was more than fully ripe for the organization and inauguration of a Scotch-Irish Society. We came together into one association—the men and women that belonged to that very distinguished and highly honorable race.

The second object was, and even more emphatically considered as an object, the historical. You will remember with what emphasis, with what proper emphasis, Col. McClure laid stress last night on the too rapid disappearance of valuable historic memoranda, traditions, actual written history. Let me give you an illustration of the necessity of considering this point and doing something in regard to it. Not long ago I was talking in our Philadelphia Library to one of the active members of the Bucks County Historical Society. He told me of a house that he had known—and my friend, Mr. Rutherford, afterwards gave me a full account of the same—where in the garret were stored autograph letters, valuable memoranda, historical material at first hand and of priceless value, which,

on the transfer of this property to strange hands, were all taken out into the yard, made a dump heap, and burned as useless paper. That was simply an irreparable loss. I don't say that all such similar documents are disappearing and perishing in the same way, but many are being lost, and some have already been lost. What we are particularly anxious about is to gather together such reliable historical material as may some day or other enable a properly qualified historian to compile and present a true story of this people, written out of the actual facts of their most romantic and aggressive life; and, therefore, was it that Col. McClure last night in his address to you made it a personal appeal that you, and each one, feel himself and herself charged with a racial obligation and a racial duty to gather from your own direct memories the traditions of your families and relatives, and from written memoranda or printed articles all that might contribute to the great mass of information to be sifted and ultimately presented in historical form. Our second object, therefore, is historical.

Our third object was social, social in the great sense of good and general fellowship; and you will permit me to say that nothing has been sweeter, nothing has been more helpful, nothing has been more humane, in the large and noble meaning of that word, than the friendships and associations and discoveries of relationship that have grown out of these various national Congresses. But there is a broader sense in which this word "social" is used. It is that particular fact and result to which my special friend, Dr. Macloskie, referred last night, and referred most truly and not with undue emphasis: the socializing, uniting, cohesive force that this Society has doubtless exerted in binding together what was once (thank God, is no more!) the North and South of our beloved common land. The fresh integration of these two great sections has been one of the most marvelous results of our work, and I remember how on one occasion the good, keen, strong eyes of that large-hearted, typical Scotch-Irishman, Robert Bonner, filled with tears that overran, and he said: "Well, if we were to cease to-morrow, among the thoughts that will come as a comfort to me in my last hour is the thought of what we have done to bind together our North and South." Dr. Macloskie told you last night how deeply that had sunk into the heart of that great-hearted and humane man—lost to us, alas! but at home—John Hall.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think that these are three most worthy objects. I don't count very much on the man or woman who doesn't

care about ancestry. There is a stupid pride of ancestry; there is a God-fearing recognition of ancestry. The one separates and makes selfish; the other binds and makes generous. Now, in the true and worthy sense, pride of ancestry, or rather gratitude for ancestry, ought to draw men together; and we want, as far as possible, to throw out—if I might use the term—the tentacles of this Society all over the land, and gather together into a band of recognized brotherhood and sisterhood the men and women of this race, for not only are men, but women also, eligible. The women of the Scotch-Irish race have had their splendid part, and have done their magnificent deeds for that large and wonderful contribution which has been made to the nation and the wonderful maturity of this young child of the West, and I think it was a worthy thing and characteristic of the race that, when we made this new departure, we made it in the way our fathers made it—the man and woman hand in hand, marching forward, pioneers on a new path of national development. Then I think that we must feel bound to recognize the propriety of gathering together these most interesting and romantic memories. The sweet daughter of our President this morning put into my hands a little piece of paper, worthily and properly preserved in a glazed frame, the reading of which instantly carried me thousands of miles beyond the sea, and planted me right in the old county of Antrim and within the little town where many of my maternal ancestors belonged, and as I looked at it there went through me this thought: “What a line of splendid and marvelous people are bound up in that little frayed paper, almost grown brown in time!” And you surely respond to that feeling. Well, a man that wants friends must show himself friendly, and that is the other object of our Society. These are, broadly and generally told, the objects of our organization.

A number of years ago I was standing where those two rivers join at Geneva. The one stream comes running down with its distinctive color, and the other comes with its brown hue, and I observed that the moment when the stream of deep-blue tinge joined the other, the other was transformed and lost largely in the blue, and Geneva's lake became the blue lake that “smiles its worship up to God,” as Ruskin put it. This blood of our Ulster forefathers and mothers is of such virtue that when it comes even from its long race down the mountain side of history, it tinges and dominates and transforms and makes the possessor of it, even in similar degree, worthy to take his or her rank with the princes and princesses of our great national rival. So that, whether by direct paternal

line or the more precious and valuable maternal line, any of you carry it in your veins; whether your present name be after French fashion or German, or whatever its present phase may be, you are eligible to membership, and we invite you, every man and woman of you, to come and be one with us. We expect you to do something; we expect you to bring the other men and the other women in along with you. Let these be missionary work for the purposes that I have defined. Terms of membership are, so far as financial matters are concerned, three dollars a year, which insure the reception of the published volumes of proceedings as they may from time to time be issued. Generally speaking, they are published annually. Sometimes that is not possible; but they are published, and, as Col. McClure told you last night, up to the present moment they constitute the only treasure-houses out of which you can draw the fine gold concerning the deeds of our ancestors. Now I shall be very glad if any of the friends here present, or any of the friends in Chambersburg or in the adjacent parts, will hand in their names. I heard the other day, in the General Assembly, that one lone man in the early years was appointed missionary to the Territory of Ohio "and all the adjacent parts," which went away beyond the Mississippi. Any from the adjacent parts may forward their names to the President of our Society, Col. Gilmore, or myself. We shall be very glad, indeed, to receive the names. Ordinarily, nominations are made by letter; then they are considered by the Executive Committee, and if passed are accepted. These, I think, put briefly, are the objects of our Association and means of entrance and conditions of the Society; and I hope, therefore, that we shall, as we have in other places, receive a large increase to our membership.

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

In furtherance of this historical design and purpose of the Society, the local organization has arranged to have a number of papers prepared and read upon this occasion, dealing with the history of this valley and, as Dr. MacIntosh has said, with the adjacent parts. This work has been done very kindly by the gentlemen who have engaged in it, and I haven't any doubt at all that these papers will prove very interesting. The first paper will be read by a gentleman known to many of you—all of you, indeed, by reputation—himself a Scotch-Irishman straight in the line, a gentleman who has rendered distinctive service to the State. I take great

pleasure in presenting to you Hon. Samuel M. Wherry, of Cumberland County.

(For Mr. Wherry's paper, see Part II.)

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

It is easy to understand the wisdom of the Scotch-Irish Society of America in arranging for the collection of historical data, now that we have heard such an interesting paper from Mr. Wherry.

At a very early period in our country's history, and for many years after, a very important center of Scotch-Irish influence was in the region of Mercersburg, in this county. It was at one time exclusively Scotch-Irish; it is not so now. The predominating influence there to-day is German; but there is in that population, notwithstanding it is German in name, a very large infusion of Scotch-Irish blood. Under the benevolent assimilating which is so unifying in this country, the Scotch-Irish have become German to a large extent in the Mercersburg region. I was very much impressed with the figure of speech used by Dr. MacIntosh when he spoke of standing at Geneva and seeing the blending of the waters. That figure aptly illustrates the blending of the races, the Scotch-Irish and German, in the Cumberland Valley; and it is most happily illustrated to-day in the life and character of a gentleman who is here present and is going to instruct you in regard to German homes in the Scotch-Irish settlement, himself the son of a German father, at the same time the son of a Scotch-Irish mother. In him are blended two families of distinction, both of whom have added not only to the glory of the Cumberland Valley but to the renown of the Cumberland Valley. It gives me great pleasure to present Linn Harbaugh, Esq., a member of the Franklin County bar.

Mr. Harbaugh:

When I was first honored with an invitation to appear before you, knowing that I was associated somewhat with German attributes, I felt that I had better inquire of some of my friends what would be the modest and proper thing to do; and among others I asked my friend Dr. Montgomery, and said: "You know of this visitation that is coming on our beautiful valley, and I thought I would like to ask you"— "O," he said, "you ought to be vaccinated, by all means."

(For Mr. Harbaugh's paper, see Part II.)

Several selections were then rendered by the band.

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

The morning exercises will conclude with a short address by Charles Walter, Esq., of Chambersburg.

Mr. Charles Walter:

You are the representatives of a people who have had an honorable and conspicuous part in the history of this nation. The Scotch-Irish, before the revolution, distinguished themselves in the war with the French; and when there was a call to arms for the cause of liberty, they responded with alacrity and energy. Commemoration and celebration of the deeds of your ancestors is a becoming and proper recognition of their services to their posterity. In the council chamber as well as upon the field of battle men of your blood performed their tasks with ability and fidelity, thus contributing to the final triumph of the cause so dear to them, and saving for themselves and their children that liberty of thought and action which they had come to the New World to find. A great deal has lately been said about hyphenated Americans. We hear of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, and so on through the long list of nations whence immigrants have come to our shores. The tendency of the representatives of alien races to band themselves together for the purpose of influencing political contests can have no good results. Fortunately, this clannishness has not been a serious factor in our politics. When we stop to consider the very diverse elements that have contributed to and make up our population, the wonder is that the tendency represented by hyphenation has not been stronger and more powerful in our politics. The nations of the Old World from which our people came prior to the end of the eighteenth century were comparatively few. There were the English, who naturally were predominant in influence, at least, in all of the colonies. From Germany there came homeless palatines and non-resistant disciples of Alexander Mack. There were Irish, Scotch, and Scotch-Irish, a few Huguenots, and earlier there had come the Dutch to New York and the Swedes to Delaware. That these should become amalgamated was not surprising, and this had been practically accomplished before many years had been counted in the nineteenth century. But since then there has been a continuous flow of immigration from all the nations of Europe. The stream has been ceaseless, and its volume, until a few years ago, constantly increased. More than once in the past hundred years there have been attempts to stop immigration. "America for Americans" was

the watchword of a political party that ran a brief but violent course in the politics of the fifties. Books have been written pointing out the dangers consequent upon admitting all who came, and party platform makers have painted in hysterical words the probable consequences to our social and political life. This has all been well enough, and of some value in forming public opinion; but at no time has the general public been thoroughly aroused, or the average citizen really concerned. The sum of all the efforts has been regulation of the admission of foreigners to our ports, and an inspection which sends back the criminal and incompetent, not exclusion.

In spite of the vast infusion of conglomerate elements, there is the American, well-defined and unmistakable, recognizable everywhere because of distinct national characteristics. How and why he has come into being just as he is, or when, none can tell. Whether the process is evolution or assimilation matters little; it cannot be explained; it may only be contemplated. Forty or fifty years since, when railroad-building began in earnest, the pick was swung and the rocks blasted by the Irishman. A happy-go-lucky, devil-may-care sort of chap was he, too often concerned about nothing but the coming of pay day, which was usually followed by a glorious good time, in which heads were broken and much bad whisky consumed. Now he has disappeared as completely as if he had been swallowed up by the earth. His descendants have become powerful and prominent in all the walks of life. They seem to have a genius for politics, and some of the greatest names in the learned professions and in the business world are those of the humble Irishmen who began life in a new land as unskilled laborers, with no capital but opportunity. Another example of transformation are the Scandinavians. Of recent years they have been coming by the thousands to the Northwest, turning their hands to whatever they found to do, and aiding greatly in the marvelous development which that region has experienced. Honest, faithful, and industrious, eager to learn our ways and understand our institutions; and to-day one of their number, after having been Governor of his State, sits in the Senate of the United States, the highest elective office that can be held by a foreign-born citizen. Few men have had more influence in our political life than those brilliant and patriotic Germans who came here, many of them fresh from the universities, after the political disturbances of 1848. It is enough to mention one, who was a general officer in the civil war, held a cabinet portfolio; was a politician of importance, now on one side, now on the other; a brilliant

though erratic leader, not of Germans but of the American people; an orator of the first rank in his adopted tongue; a fearless and high-minded citizen—Hon. Carl Schurz. None can fail to remember the gallant services rendered by Irish and Germans as soldiers in the civil war, and men of alien birth volunteered for service in the war with Spain as eagerly as those whose forbears were here before the revolution. A few years since, great concern was felt as to the effect of the coming of Poles, Hungarians, and other peoples of Central Europe into our mining regions. It would seem that they have confounded liberty with license; that being relieved of the despotism under which they lived was more than their repressed and savage natures could bear. But disorders resulting from their being among us have become rarer, and they are learning, as thousands have learned before them, that the law of the land safeguards all alike.

The marvelous results that have been attained in the way of adoption and assimilation will, I believe, appear to him who shall write the history of the past century a most interesting and suggestive feature in the development and formation of the American character. By and through what means these results have been brought about is not now to be perceived. What the heaven is none can tell. What has been accomplished alone is manifest, and that is impressive. No nation has ever existed whose composite parts have been so diverse; none has ever been a more homogeneous whole. Rome extended her dominions to the ends of the earth; but subjection, not assimilation, was characteristic of her progress. She took from her colonies their wealth and culture, but remained distinct and apart from them. They developed along their own lines, and the influence they exercised upon her was that of association and environment. The British empire has girdled the globe and yet the Englishman is as distinctive in character as he was in the days of Elizabeth. He organizes, systematizes, teaches, and in many instances plays the part of Providence for the races which he has conquered; but never does he make them his people, or impress upon them his racial characteristics. Search as you will, you cannot find anything in the English character acquired from the numerous races, savage and civilized, with whom he has been in contact. Other modern nations have for the most part remained to themselves, unaffected by their colonial possessions, as to their national characteristics. Our nation has a unique place among the powers of the earth. All Europe has been drawn upon for the American. As you see

him, he is very far from being faultless, yet much in advance of his forbears in every way. He is American without the hyphen, though he may call himself Irish, German, or any other sort, or may omit the American altogether, and be Scotch-Irish. Imperfections and deficiencies he has many, but, even as he is, there is none like him; none whose past is so full of work well done, none whose future promises so much for the uplifting of humanity.

Then followed more music by the band.

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

The exercises will be continued at half past two o'clock this afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Pursuant to adjournment, the meeting was called to order at 2:30 p.m., and, after music by the band, the President, Hon. John Stewart, said:

It is a very impressive and important circumstance, in connection with the Scotch-Irish immigration into this country, that they came in such large numbers into the colony of Pennsylvania. It is very difficult to account for, except, as has been suggested by some of those who addressed you this morning and addressed you last night, that they were under the guidance and direction of a Providence that knew better how to order their steps than they themselves did. They came to this country in vast numbers; that is to say, vast when you come to consider the population from which this immigration was derived. The Ulster region was never large or populous as we regard countries to-day; and yet, as early as 1725, these Scotch-Irish immigrants began to come into this country at the rate of twelve thousand a year, and they kept that up continuously, year after year, sometimes their numbers exceeding and sometimes falling below that number. As early as 1725, when the immigration amounted to twelve thousand a year, as many as five thousand of these found their way into the colony of Pennsylvania. There were Scotch-Irish settlements in other colonies; a few were to be found in New England, principally in New Hampshire, insignificant in numbers, however. They were to be found in large numbers in the South; but somehow or other, for some reason or other, the great drift was to the colony of Pennsylvania. It cannot be said that this colony was more attractive to them than others. They fully understood when they came here that they faced hos-

tile conditions. The skies were not any more inviting here than in other colonies, nor was the soil. The political conditions were unfriendly to them; and yet, in spite of it all, it was to the Pennsylvania colony that they came in greatest numbers. I have long thought, long believed, that they came not because they wanted to come, but because they were ordered to come here. This, of all other places, was where they were needed.

About 1770 it was that the agitation began looking to a separation of these colonies from the authority of Great Britain. As the time went by New England became almost unanimous upon that subject. Virginia and the Southern colonies were marked almost by the same unanimity. Pennsylvania was hostile to separation. Pennsylvania colony was under Quaker dominion and under Quaker influence. The Quakers constituted the larger part of the population of the colony; they were for peace under any and all circumstances. The great question that agitated the public mind in this day was: How can the coöperation of Pennsylvania be secured in the effort to establish independence from Great Britain? It was at this critical time, when the Quaker influence dominated Pennsylvania, when the colonial Legislature had declared against independence—it was at that critical time that the immigration from Scotland increased as the years went on; year after year multitudes came, crowding our shores, and for the greater part penetrating into our fair valley, until the critical period of 1776, when, by virtue of the repeated and continued accessions to the ranks of these people, there were sufficient numbers of them here to exercise absolute control in the colony, and carry it from a peace colony to the revolutionary policy of other colonies. I do not say that but for the Scotch-Irish immigration into Pennsylvania there could have been no revolution, but it passes human understanding to comprehend how any successful revolution could have been carried on against the power of Great Britain, with Pennsylvania either neutral or hostile. But the influence of the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania did not terminate with the Declaration of Independence. That thrifty, energetic, God-fearing people continued to come into Pennsylvania, and, as I have said, crowded into this valley, from which they sent out streams of emigration, carrying their influence into Virginia and the great Southwest, carrying Virginia even over to the cause of freedom, because it was through the Scotch-Irish influence there, originally from the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania, that Virginia was able to declare a separation between Church and

State. Then these Scotch-Irish scattered throughout this commonwealth. How much we owe to this people for its intellectual advancement, for its industrial improvement, for the magnificent empire which we to day call Pennsylvania, no man can compute; but I cannot trust myself to-day to speak of the magnificence and the magnitude of the interests of Pennsylvania. We have one with us here who represents the dignity and honor and majesty of the commonwealth, and to him I say we are glad to have with us to-day the Governor of the commonwealth, who has honored us with his presence, and whom we are all glad to receive. It is with great pleasure that I present to you the Hon. William A. Stone, Governor of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Gov. Stone:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I felt when I was urged to come here by your representatives at Harrisburg, and by your judge, that you were entitled to have the office of Governor here, because the office belongs to the people, and it couldn't come very well to-day unless I brought it, and the only thing that I regret is that I didn't bring a speech along with it. I have never had the pleasure of being present at a Scotch-Irish Congress before. I hardly know what the real composition of a Scotch-Irishman is; but, judging from the colors, I might presume that it is one-third Irish, one-third Scotch, and perhaps one-half Dutch. I am neither Scotch nor Irish. My mother was a Pennsylvania Dutchman and my father a Massachusetts Yankee. The orange might represent the Dutch, the green the Irish, and the blue reminds me of those waving fields of beautiful heather, and also of the bells of Scotland. I remember when traveling in Scotland that we had an old Scotch friend who left Scotland when a boy, and we were trying to think of something to bring him, and my wife suggested that we pick some heather and bring to him, which we did; and he was weak enough to cry about it. There was nothing in the heather that gave me any desire to shed tears, but somehow it did him. It is only a token of that love for the fatherland, no matter where it is or what it is; and any man or woman who owes his parentage to foreign lands loves this country none the less because he loves his fatherland the more. I am not familiar with the history of the Scotch-Irish, so called. I know very little about it, but I have never met or been acquainted with Scotch-Irishmen in Pennsylvania that I didn't wish there were more of them. I suppose that these Scotch-

Irish Congresses will continue forever. Why not? Why should they not? I regard it as a healthy sign of patriotic love for the country of their adoption to see them exhibit affection for the land of their birth. We have no native Americans living in Pennsylvania. These boys [the Indian band] are the only natives that are left to us. This great country, which now dominates the civilized world to a large extent, is composed of the representatives of all other countries, and we are all foreigners and all immigrants, some tracing their history in this country back to a period of one hundred years or more, some to a hundred days. But wherever they may come from, if they are composed of that material which makes sturdy, honest citizens, we extend to them the hand of welcome. From no other community in the world has Pennsylvania been more greatly benefited than from that little community in the North of Ireland called Ulster. Your representatives have held the most important positions in the State. True is it said by your President that they changed the civilization in the early days preceding the revolutionary war. True it is that they helped largely to change the tide of battle in the great war of the rebellion. Whatever claims Scotland or Ireland may have upon the Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania to-day claims a paramount right. You are not here under the sufferance of any other class of people. You not only are here by common right, but you are here in possession of your own, because the State largely belongs to you. We are all proud of our State, proud of its great territory, proud of its history, proud of its public men, proud of all it has been in the past, and certain of what it will be in the future. There is no State that need induce any Pennsylvanian to pass from Pennsylvania into it. We have more wealth under the surface of the State than any other State has on top of it, and we are daily discovering greater wealth. It was a lucky thing for Pennsylvania when you settled here, and it was a lucky thing for you. You couldn't have found a State, if you had gone into all the territories that now make States—you couldn't have found a State in this whole Union that would have better fitted your wants. I remember away back when I was trying to find a place to practice law where there were no other lawyers. I couldn't. My researches were entirely confined to this life—the present. I went into the West and traveled in Kansas and Missouri, and I went through some of those great Western States, and they all said to me: "This is going to be a great State in the future." I wanted some-

thing for the present. It isn't the future that ever worried me, it is the past that makes me trouble; and after I had gone over all those States, gazing upon those great prairies, I missed the clear water in the streams, I missed the mountains and the hills and the valleys; I couldn't find any place that suited me until, coming back through Canada, all at once it struck me that that was the place I was looking for; and then, after some reflection, I discovered why. It was just like Northern Pennsylvania. The waters were clear; there were mountains and hills and valleys. Nowhere in this great country is there such a valley as the Cumberland Valley, hemmed in on each side by the almighty hills. I went out to Salt Lake City last summer. It is safe for a married man to go to Salt Lake City now; there was a time when they were pretty well married there. It is a beautiful little valley, sheltered all around by a chain of mountains, and every time I come up Cumberland Valley I think of Salt Lake City. On each side are these mountains, and between them is your rich and productive soil. Just now everybody's attention is turned to the formation of great trusts and combinations. Put your trust in the soil; it is more permanent, more lasting, and more conducive to human happiness than any other trust in the world. There are no prettier farms, no greater average of wealth, no more happy and contented people than here in your own midst; and you have made it what it is. Suppose you had gone out into Pike County, or up in Tioga County among the rattlesnakes; you might have done worse, but you did much better. You selected the garden spot of Pennsylvania, and whatever may have impressed the people who came here as your forefathers, they had a keen sense and a shrewd conception of localities.

I don't know what to say to you. I can give you no information that you don't already have. I can't talk to you about the body of statesmen that dwell in the city of Harrisburg, and you don't want me to; this is not a political meeting. You are here to learn the facts and the history of your own people, meeting together, renewing old acquaintances, and felicitating yourselves on the fact that you are Scotch-Irish. I wish that I could do that, but I can't. I can only express my great gratification that you are here; my regret that there are not more Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania; my hope that your future reunions may be as pleasant as this one seems to be; and that you may be associated with that tender regard and care on the part of the ladies which your first speaker mentioned and which I have participated in; that you may ever find as beau-

tiful a place to meet in as you have found here, for this is a place to hold a reunion. It is not in a crowded city, where the innovations of man disturb your deliberations, where you are afraid to go out for fear of electric wires, street cars, and automobiles, and those other things that menace the lives and safety of human beings. Here in the woods, with the distant murmur of the stream of water, the graceful shade, with plenty to eat, everything beautiful to look upon, which is a feature as much as the luncheon of which the Doctor spoke—this is the place to come together. This is a place to congratulate each other; it is a place for a day off, or two days off, or three days off; it is a little shady spot in the corner of life. It is a cooling site by a murmuring spring treading along a tiresome journey. It is one of the few things that you remember; it is not a thing you try to forget. You might go down to Philadelphia and to the city of New York and make a thousand dollars in a stock deal; you won't remember that a year. This you will remember as long as you live. It is getting away from the turmoil of life, whatever that life may be, whether it is in the court room or pulpit or store or the mill or the shop—it is the getting away. The great trouble with the American people is that they don't get away often enough. There is where the people in older countries have the advantage of us. I went through Spain ten years ago, and they were having picnics all the while. The Spanish people are peculiar; that was before they had their eyes opened—that was before the Spanish-American war. And we stopped at a little station—we had to, because the train stopped there—and waited half an hour. The platform was covered with people, all with little baskets. The men in Spain are small of stature, and they wear ribbons and colors. The women dress in black, with a sort of mantle beginning about here and going down to the ground. You see only their eyes—it was a lucky thing for us, perhaps, because their eyes are beautiful. I was rather a curiosity to them, because they thought I was pretty tall, and they watched me a great deal and gathered around me—the men in red and blue and yellow. Finally a friend pointed to me, and he said: "Benjamin Harrison"—he was then the President of the United States—and they all shook their heads; they had never heard of Benjamin Harrison. Then he pointed to me, and said: "James G. Blaine;" they all shook their heads. I said: "Try them on John L. Sullivan." And he did, and then they cheered; and one of them that had interpreted wanted to make a bargain for me to fight a bull. The only contest I ever had with a bull was to see which

could get to the fence quickest. Their idea of manliness and patriotism and of greatness is to fight a bull. We have nothing of that kind here. We fight each other in politics once in a while, but we don't fight cattle. That is an old country. The stench of olive oil and the beauty of it—nothing prettier than an olive tree burdened with fruit—go up in the valley of New Granada, with the ice and snow in the mountains, towering Alhambra, the most fruitful and productive valley, just like your Cumberland Valley; and yet the people glean their grain from the chaff by throwing it into the air, and mow their grass with a scythe. They don't know what a fanning mill is. I didn't see a mowing machine. I don't believe they have any sewing machines. They never knew what a threshing machine was until they got into the war with this country. At Santiago harbor and the harbor of Manila they discovered what threshing machines were. I am not here to discuss that. I am here because I wanted to come, and I am mighty glad I did come. I am here to congratulate you and express the hope that you will always be as happy as you look now. Perhaps that may be largely influenced by the fact that my speech is drawing to a close. I will simply say, good afternoon.

More musical selections were then rendered by the band.

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

Your thoughts will now be turned to times not so remote as those which have been frequently referred to. The subject of the paper to be read is "When I Was a Boy, and a Little While Before." I know it must refer to a very recent period, because the man who writes it was a schoolmate of mine when I was a boy; and it gives me very great pleasure to meet him here to-day and to present to this audience Mr. James P. Mathews, of Baltimore.

(For Mr. Mathews's paper, see Part II.)

The Vice President, Rev. Dr. John S. MacIntosh:

After Col. McClure and myself returned from the first meeting of our Scotch-Irish Congress in Tennessee, we conferred together and believed that it was highly desirable, in view of the number of Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania, that we should have a State Society. That was formed in due time. The Society has grown year by year, and it is now quite a large and influential body. We have had from time to time, according to our system of rotation, distinguished and able men as our presidents and official representatives, and we

have not changed the order. This year we have as our President and representative the Hon. Bayard Henry, one of the State Senators from Philadelphia, who will now, as the President of the State Society, address you.

Hon. Bayard Henry:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: As the Pilgrims and their descendants from New England turn to Plymouth Rock, we in Pennsylvania look to Cumberland County as the hotbed and the site of the true life of the Scotch-Irish people. It is a little difficult to tell in these days what a Scotch-Irishman is. Some people suppose a Scotch-Irishman is one whose father was a Scot and mother an Irish woman. That is not it. We all have learned from the papers which we have heard here, and we all know, that the Scotch-Irish are a certain peculiar people. I was told coming here this afternoon that they were nothing but Scotch people who rested awhile in Ireland before they came to this country. We know that when they came to this country they weren't very welcome. They didn't go to New England—Judge Stewart didn't exactly know why, but I think it was because the New England people didn't want them. They did not go to New York because the Dutch were there, and they didn't desire them; but William Penn had a very great charm and a better government, so the Scotch-Irish came to Pennsylvania, but they hadn't come very long before William Penn wished they hadn't come. It was James Logan, his secretary, who said they were an obstreperous people and they were making trouble. When they did come, the Quakers gave them no welcome, so they started again and went on down through this very valley into the States of Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina; but it was into this section and into this great State that those thousands or tens of thousands of immigrants came and stayed. When you think that prior to the revolution the vessels used to arrive—one, two, three, four vessels a week—in the harbor of Philadelphia with the Scotch-Irish immigrants, you can realize what a tremendous body of people they brought into this great commonwealth, and they certainly have stamped themselves upon it. They have certainly made its laws, and they have certainly fixed a character upon the people of this great State as no other body or no other kind of people have. As you know, Pennsylvania has more different denominations and more different beliefs than all the rest of the country put together, all kinds

of religious sects and denominations among the Germans and among the different settlers that came to this country; but the ones that made the most impression have been those selfsame Scotch-Irish people.

As I have said before, it is difficult to tell what effect being in Ireland had upon Scotsmen and how far the Scotch-Irish have any distinct relation by themselves different from the Scotsmen coming directly into this country. So far as their religion is concerned, we know it is just the same simon-pure Presbyterian, with the Shorter Catechism and Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" and with all the old-time doctrines with relation to the Lord's sovereignty and to the fact that we were subject to the divine law in all things. That was the teaching that we were all brought up to. In fact, as we have often heard in these Scotch-Irish Societies, one of the mottoes of the Scotch-Irish people is that they keep the Ten Commandments and everything else they can lay their hands on. It is a fact that wherever they go they put their impress, and wherever they are they remain, and I can truly say that, so long as Pennsylvania continues, the fact will be that the Scotch-Irish people will be the people who will have the power and the influence; and the reason of that is that they have a conscience and they stand for that which is right. And let me say, before I close, that these meetings should continue; and year after year, as these great bodies and these associations come together, we will realize the importance of doing those things which we believe to be right and standing for those principles which our fathers believed, and which, if we wish to succeed, we must follow.

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

The audience will hear something more about this remarkable Scotch-Irish conquest. The next paper to be read is by Mr. Bair, of York County, and I take great pleasure in presenting him to the audience.

(For Mr. Bair's address, see Part II.)

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

The gentleman I have in my mind is not on the platform, and I fail to recognize him in the audience; yet I know he was here—the gentleman whom I propose to introduce to you at this point. Although I cannot locate him, he may be in the pavilion; if he is, I hope he will come forward. I refer to the Hon. Robert Snodgrass,

of Harrisburg. He was hiding very securely, but not very safely. He is a Scotch-Irishman pure and simple—nothing else.

Mr. Snodgrass :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : I am quite unable to understand the process of legerdemain by which my name is brought upon this programme. I certainly did not come here to enlighten anybody upon the Scotch-Irish and their great achievements. I came rather as a listener, and I think you will realize the position in which I am placed when I tell you that my distinguished friend, your President, did not even intimate to me up to this moment that I was expected to say anything. Under the circumstances I feel very much as the railway passenger, that I once heard of, did when he desired to take a railroad train at a given time. He was troubled with the defect of stammering, and was, therefore, unable to tell the ticket agent where he wanted to go. After struggling desperately but unsuccessfully to make himself understood, he finally succeeded in saying this much : "Send me as freight; I can't *express* myself." That is about my condition. If I attempted it, I certainly would not be able to *express* anything here that would add to the intellectual feast you have enjoyed; and in such case I would simply be, as it were, "freight" to this audience. I appreciate, however, that I am here under somewhat interesting and peculiar circumstances. My distinguished friend who has the honor to preside over the Congress of the Scotch-Irishmen of America was my contemporary in those boyhood days of which my friend Mathews has so delightfully spoken. We three dug out Greek roots under the same conditions and upon the same bench, and we meet here most opportunely upon this platform, so that you will understand how I appreciate the privilege of being here, notwithstanding the unexpected call which has been made upon me. Under the circumstances it would be unwise for me to go into any matters affecting the Scotch-Irish or their achievements. You have heard from my friend, Senator Henry, and you have heard from others, and you have had some new views and ideas from the gentleman who has just taken his seat. The intellectual feast which you have enjoyed this afternoon would, therefore, be marred, I fear, if I were to say anything more. Thanking you, therefore, Mr. President, for the honor you have done me in permitting me to say even these few words, I will leave you to anticipate the further enjoyment which is promised you in the exercises of this evening.

The President, Hon. John Stewart:

It was altogether unnecessary for Mr. Snodgrass to cut short his remarks, but it was done with the kindest purpose. He didn't know that we have as much time at our disposal as we have. He wanted the audience to hear from Judge Rowe, and it was because of that circumstance that he cut short his speech. I now call upon Judge Rowe to do what Mr. Snodgrass and the balance of the audience want him to do: present himself and talk a little about the Scotch-Irish.

(No response.)

That is Scotch-Irish stubbornness again. You see it in many different ways. It is very unfortunate that it is displayed at this time by Judge Rowe. Dr. MacIntosh will make an announcement for this evening.

The Vice President:

This evening we are to hear from Mr. John D. McIlhenny on what the Scotch-Irishman has done for the development of this country, an argument which will be conducted on a somewhat new line; and also a paper by Mr. Nead, and such other short addresses as we may have from friends attending this meeting and are subject to the call of our presiding officer. We shall now hear our friends from Carlisle, and with that we will adjourn for the afternoon. We will meet at the bugle call.

Then followed music by the band and adjournment.

EVENING SESSION.

The Society convened at 7 P.M., pursuant to adjournment, and the proceedings were opened with music by the band.

The Vice President:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I think you will agree with me that the professor and his band improve with each stage of the proceedings. It has been good, it was better, and I think this is about the best we have had yet. I had the pleasure, ladies and gentlemen, last winter of being—what I too unfortunately rarely am—a listener rather than a speaker at a meeting in Germantown where the different racial sections that make up the composite American were present by different speakers. On that occasion there was a paper read by a friend of mine, which suggested to me and some

others the propriety of asking him to prepare a paper for this occasion. The reader and speaker on that occasion was my friend, Mr. John D. McIlhenny, of Philadelphia, son of our treasurer, who has done more for us during these past years than any other man; and I have great pleasure in calling upon Mr. John D. McIlhenny, of Philadelphia, who will speak on "What the Scotch-Irishman Has Done for the Development of This Country." Before Mr. McIlhenny begins, might I ask that some one will be kind enough to "turn on the light?"

(For Mr. McIlhenny's paper, see Part II.)

The Vice President:

We shall now have a short address from the Rev. Dr. McLanahan. It is not necessary in the Cumberland Valley, or in the adjacent parts, to say anything regarding the McLanahans. They have written their own record, and they have written it high.

Rev. Dr. McLanahan :

I represent a family which has in one respect, I presume, stood as high and been as long in the Cumberland Valley as any other—I mean the Scotch-Irish; and after the very appreciative and eloquent testimony which has been given to the Scotch-Irish by such green immigrants as my dear friend, Dr. Macloskie, or yourself, sir, and after the very kind and appreciative notice which has been given to us by other nationalities to-day, and by the cordial claims of the half-breeds, I am very glad to stand here to night as a representative of the simon-pure, Cumberland Valley, Franklin County, Antrim County Scotch-Irish. It is said that the Maryland line was the fighting line between Lord Baltimore and the Penns, and the first McLanahan who came into this neighborhood was given about a square mile of territory along the Maryland line in 1743, and without neighbors, perhaps for his sake, and Franklin County has not been without the name until now. It has furnished you worthy citizens; it has furnished you a Congressman, whose son is in attendance here. But I represent another Franklin County name, which, so far as I am aware, has passed from the county—the name of Allison, the family which settled about the town of Greencastle, and one of its members laid out the town of Greencastle, and gave to the Presbyterian Church Patrick Allison, and gave to the State of Pennsylvania an officer of the first civil war, Col. John Allison, and gave Robert Allison to the United States Congress; and I shall

claim to represent another family of Franklin County name—I am connected at least with the worthy President of this Congress—the Davidson family, who gave to this county most worthy children and citizens, and which name has passed entirely from the county; but I claim to represent—as well as standing here the only representative of Antrim County—all that great community of Scotch-Irish living around the part which had the name of Antrim, as well as the blood of Antrim, and which worthily represented all the qualities which made the Antrim men on this side as well as on the other side of the water respected and honored.

I was reminded by the Governor speaking of the little bit of heather which moved his Scotch friend to tears of an incident told by John McNeal, an eloquent Scotch evangelist. He was telling his experience in a meeting over here, and he said at the close of the meeting that there came up an old woman, and she caught his hand in both of hers, and as she clasped them together and bent over his hand said: "O Mr. McNeal, and I am from old Scotland, too!" He said: "Don't cry; don't cry. You couldn't help it." And so, dear friends, excellent as has been the record made by the Scotch-Irish here, we who are here to-night couldn't help it and couldn't hinder it. It was the record which they have all made. And if it be true, as has been said here to-day with regard to the Scotch-Irish ancestry which we have, then the Scotch-Irish men and women who have been taking pride in their ancestry must be worthy of their ancestry. It is not for us to-day to puff ourselves up that we have goodly ancestry unless we prove worthy of that ancestry. I thought as I sat here to-day concerning some of the qualities which have made the Scotch-Irish so influential. One of them was slighted a moment ago in the paper read. I do not think that it was brought out distinctly. It was the Scotch-Irishman's faculty for organization and administration, and you will discover it in the Presbyterian Church. There were Presbyterian Churches in Long Island long before there was a presbytery. There were Huguenot Churches, which were Presbyterian, but it was when the Scotch-Irish and Scotch-Irish ministers came here, in 1775 or 1776, that there came to be a Presbyterian organization, and out of that the Presbyterian Church; and you will discover that, whatever they have done, that faculty for organization and administration has marked it, as was alluded to in that great corporation, the Pennsylvania railroad. In addition to the clearness and vigor and independence of their thinking, we have had allusions to the moral deeds

of the Scotch-Irish; and if he hadn't had some religion, no one can tell what would have become of the Indians, or Quakers either, in Pennsylvania. The only thing that saved this country from the Scotch-Irish invasion was that the Scotch-Irish came in his element of religious control, and the point which I believe we, the followers of the early Scotch-Irish, should carry with us is this. Back of all their history in Scotland, and more influential than that, and back of their organization in Churches and their preachers and their Confession of Faith and their Catechism, and what gave power to all this, was the Scotch-Irish home and the Scotch-Irish mother, and I believe that the power of the Scotch-Irishman has been very largely developed by his ideas of home instruction, home nurture, and home government; and if the modern Scotch-Irishman is to emulate his ancestors and perpetuate the excellence of his race, it must be found in the preservation and continual maintenance of a real, religious Scotch-Irish home.

The Vice President:

I have to ask if Mr. Nead is in the house?

(No response.)

Is Mr. Bair in the house?

A voice:

Mr. Bair is here, and asks to be excused to-night.

The Vice President:

Then we will have some music, and after that the meeting will adjourn and will convene in the opera house at 10:30 to-morrow morning.

Dr. Macloskie:

Before we separate I have one proposal. It is a proposal that the cordial thanks of this meeting be given to the band for their services to-day. This may be put to-morrow evening, but before the band go away I want them to understand how we appreciate their services. The Pratt Institute sends us down to Princeton young fellows to compete with us in athletics, and we have great respect for them in Princeton, for we never get a "snap" from them. We must fight hard to be a match for the athletes that come to us, and now we have some knowledge of them in the music line to-day, and I propose that the thanks of this meeting be given, in order that they may understand what the Scotch-Irish feeling is to them.

The Vice President:

All in favor, say "Aye."

(Chorus of "Ayes.")

I will not put the contrary, because it does not exist.

The business meeting of the regular enrolled members of the Scotch-Irish Society will be held to-morrow morning at half past nine o'clock, the public meeting at 10:30—both in the opera house. After a concluding piece of music, we shall have a short prayer and the benediction from Rev. Dr. N. G. Parke, of Pittston.

Then followed music by the band.

Rev. Dr. Parke:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we recognize Thee as the living and true God, in whom we live and move and have our being. God of our fathers and God of our mothers, we do this day recognize Thee, and desire to call upon our souls and all that is within us to bless and magnify Thy great and holy name for all Thy loving-kindness to our fathers and mothers. O God, Thou hast cared for them, and we thank Thee for Thy loving care over them, and for all that they have been to us. And O, we thank Thee, Father, for our homes, for the influences that have come into our lives from Christian homes, and for the Holy Bible. We thank Thee for the sanctuaries of God, to which our fathers and mothers have taken us; and O, we do pray for faith in God through Jesus Christ, as our own living Father and Saviour. Forgive whatever has been amiss here to-day, and bless to us and each one of us the exercises of this day. Forgive us all our sins. Help us to live not to ourselves, but unto Him who gave himself to die for us. God bless us and guide us through our earthly life, and when our work is done bring us to our heavenly home, through Jesus Christ, our Lord and our Redeemer. May the blessing of God, our Father, of Jesus Christ, our living Saviour, and of the Holy Spirit, our Comforter and Sanctifier, abide with each one of us evermore! Amen.

Adjourned.

ENROLLED MEMBERS.

The meeting of the enrolled members of the Society was called to order by the Vice President, in the opera house, Chambersburg, Pa., on Saturday, June 1, 1901, at 9:30 A.M.

Rev. Dr. Norcross :

O God, our Heavenly Father, we thank and praise Thee for life and the circumstances that surround us, and for the presence of Thy Spirit, and for the help that Thou hast given to our fathers before us and the help that Thou art giving to us, and we pray Thee that we may be enabled to live worthy of those who have gone before us, worthy of the truth that we have received at Thy hands, worthy of that blessed Lord who gave himself for us, and worthy of that Church which He has established in the world, and we pray Thee that the studying of the history of our ancestors may be helpful to us. Bless us in all our attempts to serve Thee and in all our attempts to gather up the history of the past for ourselves and for the guidance of future generations. We ask these blessings for Jesus's sake. Amen.

The Vice President:

I am sorry that more of our members have not been able to get here, but they have been detained.

The report for the year was presented by the Honorary Secretary, and showed that the business of the Society had been under the careful supervision of the Executive Committee. There had been frequent meetings of this committee, and through them all arrangements had been carried forward in regard to the successful Congress just held at Chambersburg. By watchful economy and good business methods all the outstanding debts had been cleared off, and the Society is now on a perfectly safe and solvent basis. The committee had found that not a few of the members seem to forget how needful it is to be prompt in the payment of their annual dues, and hence had been forced to send several notices. It is hoped that more attention will in the future be paid to this matter by the members. On the death of Queen Victoria a letter of condolence was prepared and forwarded, through the British Consul, to King Edward, of England, and Queen Alexandria. This letter was beautifully engrossed and mounted before its transmission. The king was much pleased with this token of consideration and accepted the letter of our Society with special satisfaction. A gracious and emphatic letter of thanks was duly returned. The ninth volume of the Society's publications has been issued from the press and has been re-

ceived with great satisfaction and many words of praise by our members. It is only barest justice to make special acknowledgment of the effective service rendered by our excellent Treasurer, Mr. John McIlhenny, and his generous gifts. Without his advice and assistance it would have been utterly impossible for the Honorary Secretary to have carried on the work of the Society. It is very necessary that the members of the Society exert themselves to secure new members, if the Society is to be kept active and efficient.

The Vice President:

We are now in position to hear from the Treasurer.

Mr. McIlhenny:

I happen to be the Treasurer.

John McIlhenny, Esq., submitted a full and detailed account of the income and expenditure for the past year to the annual meeting. After the members had heard the account, it was ordered to be placed in the hands of the auditors, who retired and examined all the vouchers and all the accounts. On their return they made their report (see page 48), whereupon the account was, on motion, unanimously approved and passed and ordered filed.

On the suggestion of the Vice President, a vote of thanks was tendered to the Treasurer.

Mr. McIlhenny made hearty acknowledgment; and said that he had done nothing in comparison with the Vice President, without whom the Society would have died out long ago, as he has given to the Society an amount of time, thought, and care which no one could estimate and which could never be repaid in any form. The Scotch-Irishmen of America—yes, the Ulstermen of the world—were under such bonds to Dr. MacIntosh for his labor in their behalf as made words poor and proper return impossible.

I have credited myself with expenditures, and I will explain that at a meeting of the Society held in Philadelphia about two years ago the Society was authorized to spend three hundred dollars a year for the services of a clerk, and that is all. In the beginning we paid

twelve hundred dollars a year, and after a while it was reduced to six hundred, and now we are getting along with three hundred. The usual course that has been taken heretofore is to submit the report to an auditing committee, which I am glad to do now, if the Chairman will appoint a committee.

The Vice President:

I wish to put into the hands of the Treasurer the receipt of Harvey & Smith, just received. I will appoint the auditors of the preceding year, Dr. Macloskie and Mr. Rutherford, to examine and report on this account.

Mr. McIlhenny:

I wish we had more money, and I want to say a word while I am on my feet. Dr. MacIntosh was good enough, out of the kindness of his heart, to give me some credit for what is done for the Society by its executive officers—far more, indeed, than I am entitled to; far more than I lay claim to. We have active members like Mr. Rutherford, who comes from Harrisburg—and I walk around the corner to see Dr. MacIntosh when I am going to my lunch—and he don't get credit for that; and we have Dr. Macloskie, a most valuable officer, who comes from Princeton. All the little writing I have done hasn't amounted to much, and I have a typewriter in my office that attends to my own business, and who is ready for what little writing I do for the Association, and this is what I wish to say: that as far as Dr. MacIntosh is concerned, he does twice as much, four times as much—he does it all; and I wish the reporter to take it too, no matter what he thinks—he does the work. If it were not for him, I am quite sure this Society wouldn't last a year. He has done this work without asking for anything; it is a labor of love with him, and you know how well he does everything that he does, how earnestly; and it gives me great pleasure to pay this tribute to a man like Dr. MacIntosh; and if he weren't present, I would say a great deal more. It gives me great pleasure to be able to say this and to tell you that the services he renders to the Society are invaluable.

Dr. Macloskie:

I want to say that in the early period of the Society I was one of the constant attenders. I was afraid that we would go into bankruptcy and that things would end in confusion. I have always felt

it necessary to keep my accounts on the right side. And now in this case the Secretary is doing a great work; as is also the Treasurer. They are keeping the accounts in such a manner as to insure our expenditures coming within our slender receipts.

The Vice President:

The report of the Executive Committee and the report of the Treasurer are before you. It is in order to receive any remarks or suggestions.

It was moved and seconded that they be received, accepted, and adopted.

The Vice President:

You have heard the motion; any remarks?

All in favor of receiving, accepting, and adopting these reports will say "Aye."

Contrary.

It is adopted.

The Vice President:

I find that in the case of the Vice President for Nebraska, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Alexander has removed and his residence is not accurately known. Mr. Creigh has been suggested, and it has been reported to me that he would prove a very worthy person to be made Vice President for that State, and I report that matter to you. Would it be agreeable to you that he should be made Vice President for that State?

It was moved and seconded that Mr. Creigh be appointed Vice President for Nebraska.

The Vice President:

All in favor say "Aye."

Contrary.

Adopted.

The Vice President:

Further, the Executive Committee referred to me the matter of obtaining a Vice President for Virginia in place of Hon. W. Wirt Henry, deceased, whose very eloquent address you heard at Columbia. It has been suggested by Dr. White that his vacant place shall be supplied by Dr. Finley, and I believe that he would be a very proper person to appoint for the State of Virginia.

It was moved and seconded that he be appointed.

The Vice President:

All in favor say "Aye."

Contrary.

It is adopted.

The Vice President:

There is another matter now, which I think will practically close our meeting, unless some gentlemen present have some remarks to make. At the meeting of the Executive Committee recently held invitations from various parts of the country were before us; and out of those mentioned, the Executive Committee, to which this matter was referred, subject to the approval of the members here, selected Charlotte, N. C.; and the Executive Committee report to you that they have provisionally accepted that invitation. I am now ready to hear a motion.

It was moved and seconded that the next meeting, for the year 1902, be held at Charlotte, N. C.

The Vice President:

All in favor say "Aye."

Contrary.

It is adopted.

The Vice President:

I shall be glad if any remarks are to be made by the gentlemen here.

A member:

It is thought that an edition of five hundred is sufficient for the annual report.

The Vice President:

Yes, sir; it is found that that is all we can manage. But let it be well understood that we have the plates of all the preceding volumes. One of our volumes has been out of print for a considerable time—that is, the second volume—and applications have been made for them continually; and I think it might be well, if the Society thinks favorably of it, to have a small second edition of that volume printed. A great many persons belonging to the Society want the whole set, and the set is marred because the second volume is out of print.

Dr. Macloskie:

I move that we recommend to the Executive Committee, if they see their way clear, to have the second volume reprinted.

The motion was duly seconded.

The Vice President:

All in favor say "Aye."

Contrary.

It is adopted.

Dr. Macloskie:

I would very much wish to say that before we close to-night at Wilson College we will receive nominations for membership. Col. Gilmore has several application sheets, and he will be very glad to distribute them, or, you can make nominations of friends, and they will be considered by the Executive Committee and reported on; and the persons, if accepted, will be duly notified of their enrollment.

On motion, duly seconded, the meeting adjourned.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Society convened in public meeting Saturday, June 1, 1901, at 10:30 A.M., in the opera house.

The Vice President:

We are very much gratified, dear friends, that we have with us this morning one of our oldest ministers, whose career is worthy of the race to which we belong, who has honorably served his Master and his conscience. We will be led in prayer by Dr. Kennedy.

Rev. Dr. Kennedy:

O Lord, our God, Thou art our God. We come to Thee in the name of Thy only and well-beloved Son, and we come to Thee on behalf of a race which has borne the name of Christ for many generations. Lord, we beseech Thee that Thou wilt continue to show Thy greatness to this Scotch-Irish race, and we bless Thee that Thou hast done so much for the land in which we live, and thank Thee for all the hopes that are presented to us of its further usefulness, and we beseech Thee that Thou wilt bless them with Thy presence and Thy guidance and make them useful in all that they do in this land, and especially all that they do for the Church of Jesus Christ. We

thank Thee, O Lord, that this people has been led by Thy grace and Thy providence to put up so many Churches and call so many of their people to the ministry and gather into the house of God so many who have borne the name of Christ and administered the example of Christ. We thank Thee for many gathered by this race into the Churches of Christ of those who knew nothing of Thee. Lord, we pray Thee that Thou wilt through our land bless the influence of this Scotch-Irish race in the politics of our land; that Thou mayest use them by Thine own way for the accomplishment of the growth of the land and the preparation of a home for the people of all nations and from whatsoever part of the earth they may gather. When they come hither, may they feel the guidance of those who have come to Christ, and everywhere bring them into close communion with Him who alone is able to save. God bless all the officers of our land, from the President to the constables of our homes. Lord, we beseech Thee to bless this town in which we meet. We come together this morning, and we pray that Thou wilt hear us now and that we may use the proper means to accomplish the great ends of the meeting. Bless us in our service this morning, and may we all learn what is good and well for us, for Christ's sake. Amen.

Dr. MacIntosh:

In the absence of the President, it is my pleasure to call upon Mr. Nead to present to you his paper, and I am sure we shall all hear it with great pleasure.

(For Mr. Nead's paper, see Part II.)

The Vice President:

The President will be kind enough to take his place, and I would request Dr. West to come to the platform.

The Vice President:

I am authorized by the auditors, who have just examined and audited the report of the Treasurer, to make the following announcement:

"We have examined the Treasurer's accounts and compared them with vouchers and bank book, and find all well and correctly kept, leaving in the Treasurer's hands seven hundred and forty dollars and twenty-three cents.

W. F. RUTHERFORD,

G. MACLOSKIE,

Auditors.

Chambersburg, Pa., June 1, 1901."

The Vice President :

I have been informed that those duties and necessities which connect themselves with household life make it somewhat difficult to hold an afternoon session, and it has been suggested that we prolong this forenoon session a little and try to hear as many of our friends who have given their time to prepare papers and come before us this morning as possible. In order to do so it may be necessary that you exercise your presidential authority and give to our friends as they appear each twenty minutes. They will be given, according to congressional usage, the largest liberty to print. With your permission, I would now suggest that you hear from Mr. Bair.

Mr. Bair :

The suggestion of Dr. MacIntosh is timely. I have no doubt you have had not full surfeit but full information as to the Scotch-Irish; and if you will allow me this personal allusion before I make a synopsis of my paper, I want to say as a representative of the German element of the State of Pennsylvania, born and reared in the intensest seat of the Scotch-Irish original settlement, that I know your thoughts and feelings, your habits and minds, and I do know that you are here this morning because of devotion to all those things you hold worthy as having come from your ancestors, down from them to you, and you will not take amiss some of the kind things the reader may say for yourselves, some of the truthful things that I myself do know by birth and residence with the Scotch-Irish to be true. While this purports to be a paper, I want it to be understood that there is more spontaneity about it than can be rung into ink and paper.

(For Mr. Bair's paper, see Part II.)

The Vice President :

I am sure that I voice the most earnest desire of our Society when I make this request, that when Mr. Bair receives the proof of his most valuable historical researches, he will have ready to add to what he has in this paper much additional information that must now be at his command. It is a particularly valuable contribution to us, and I think I voice the sentiment of the Society that he will make this as full as he can.

Mr. Bair :

This is a microscopic part of what I propose to give you, so you may be surfeited.

The Vice President :

We will now have the favor of a solo by Miss Stewart.

Then followed a song by Miss Stewart.

The President, Hon. John Stewart :

The audience will now have the pleasure of hearing a paper prepared by Rev. William A. West.

(For Mr. West's paper, see Part II.)

The President, Hon. John Stewart :

The exercises of the morning will be concluded after we have a few words from Judge Simonton. It gives me great pleasure to present to you the Judge.

Hon. John W. Simonton, Harrisburg, Pa.:

Mr. President, Members of the Society, Ladies and Gentlemen: I think Judge Stewart has made a grand mistake in calling upon me to say anything. I didn't know he was going to do it when he did do it, or I should have warned him. A few years ago—three or four, I don't remember precisely—this Society met in Harrisburg, and I had a great deal at that time to do with running it there, and the result of that was that we ran it decidedly into the ground. It seemed to give it such a shock that it is only now recovering from it. I believe it had an encouraging meeting last year at Knoxville, Tenn., but that was the first time it could gather itself together after we had it at Harrisburg; and I infer that Harrisburg was toward this Society—or at least taking any active part—something of the antithesis of what they call a mascot—a hoodoo. At all events, if my having anything to do with it this time will have that result, Judge Stewart will certainly have made a mistake in asking me to say anything at this time. I didn't come here expecting to have to say anything. I came here to hear, and I was very much interested in what I heard and sorry I couldn't have been here yesterday and the day before and enjoyed all these meetings. We always get straightened up when we come to these Scotch-Irish meetings. We hear so much about ourselves, what a great nation we have, that it straightens us up for a year or two to try to do a little to justify what is said about us when we get together. I am very glad indeed, too, that Dr. MacIntosh is as strong and as firm in the Scotch-Irish faith as ever and is sticking to this thing, and I have no doubt that he will make it go, and I am sure Judge Stewart is a worthy adjutant and assistant; and I am very glad to be here,

and I hope that you will always, from year to year, have such interesting papers as you have had to-day. I am sorry I haven't heard more of them, but it is certainly encouraging that this association does meet together from year to year. There is one thing that is often referred to by those who produce these papers, and a thing that has impressed me, and that is what has been referred to this morning by Mr. Nead especially, that the history of this country heretofore has been written mainly by New England, and in the eyes of those who have written they have looked upon New England as the center of the world, and Pennsylvania—what has been done by the Scotch-Irish and by the Germans—has not received the credit it ought to have, and that is one justification for the Scotch-Irish when they come together to glorify themselves as they do. I am very glad to have been here and to have heard what I have and to know that the Society has recovered to a considerable extent at least from the shock it received at Harrisburg.

The Vice President:

There are certain authorities in this State whose opinions I am in the habit of receiving without any criticism, and one of those is the distinguished person who has just spoken. This is the first time I have differed from his conclusion, and I am surprised that he has made it. If it hadn't been for Judge Simonton and the way we were treated at Harrisburg, we never would have survived. It has been Harrisburg and Judge Simonton that has kept us up ever since.

Col. Gilmore:

Dr. Martin has furnished me with tickets for the concert this evening for the ladies who so kindly assisted in the entertainment and the Decoration Committee, and he asks me to say that all the ladies and gentlemen who are not able to come to the concert will be very welcome to the reception which will be tendered by the faculty.

I will also say that the services at Rocky Springs to-morrow will begin at eleven o'clock, giving ample time for everybody that can come to reach the place.

The Vice President:

I understand that there are several very valuable papers, for which we have not had any opportunity of presentation or hearing, but these will be furnished to Col. Gilmore to be transmitted to myself. These papers have been prepared by our friends in Chambers-

burg, and relate very largely to local matters with interesting details. They will appear in our tenth volume, and will furnish a very important and valuable part of the proceedings.

Dr. MacIntosh:

I move now that after music we adjourn.

Dr. McLanahan:

Is this to be the concluding session of the Congress?

Dr. MacIntosh:

No, sir; the concluding session will be at Wilson College to-night, when the votes of thanks and concluding remarks will be made.

The President:

The morning session is now concluded.

Then followed music by the orchestra.

Adjourned.

On Saturday evening, June 1, 1901, at 7:30, the Society attended a concert given by the Glee Club at Wilson College. At the conclusion of the concert Dr. MacIntosh spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: There are certain things that deserve to be said in official praise—and because that is the usage of society at the closing of such meetings as we have had here—for our entertainment; but I wish it to be understood that behind all these set phrases there beat hearts of gratitude and strong feelings of intense thankfulness. It is a somewhat hackneyed expression that “a heart is too full for utterance,” and yet how oftentimes we are compelled to betake ourselves to these common phrases, because they fully set forth what the men and women feel. My friend, Dr. Macloskie, will now present to this audience a series of resolutions, which, in some measure, set forth the thanks of gratitude of the Scotch-Irish Society of America to the beloved friends of Chambersburg.

RESOLUTIONS.

For the Scotch-Irish Society we record our very great satisfaction in having been able to hold our Tenth Annual Congress in this rich Cumberland Valley, and especially in Chambersburg, the

beautiful cradle city of our race in America, to the characteristic hospitality of whose citizens we are indebted for a large amount of pleasure and success in connection with this meeting. We tender our thanks to his excellency, Gov. William A. Stone, for having attended the Congress and for favoring us with an able address. Also to Hon. John Stewart and the Kittochtinny Historical Society for an invitation to Chambersburg, and for the extensive and generous arrangements made for our accommodation; to Col. James Ross Gilmore, Chairman, and Daniel O. Gehr, Secretary of the Reception Committee; to Mrs. Emma Culbertson Ives and the other ladies of the Entertainment Committee; to Miss Bessie Stewart McGowan, and the ladies of the Decoration Committee, who, by their personal attentions, have rendered the occasion one of exceptional pleasure.

In this connection we emphasize our thanks for the delightful trip to Mont Alto, to the railway authorities for the use of the park, and to the ladies for their cheerful attentions and hospitality; to Prof. J. Emory Shaw and Miss Elsie Stewart, Miss Mary Stewart, Miss Marcella Flautt and Col. Pratt, and the Indian School Band, for the charming songs and music which have been a marked feature of the Congress.

We thank the distinguished men who, after much research and preparation, have given the valuable papers and addresses; also the clergy and the gentlemen of the press for their presence and assistance.

We desire also to thank Rev. Dr. Samuel A. Martin and Mrs. Martin and the ladies of Wilson College for the very pleasant concert and reception at that fine collegiate institution; especially the Glee Club and Miss Elizabeth Leopold, who arranged the programme and the Scottish songs.

We would once more express our thanks to God, who has blessed our country by continuing to it a large measure of prosperity, and is making it an instrument for propagating peace, true liberty, and Christian civilization through the world.

ADDRESS OF DR. M'INTOSH AT MONT ALTO.

At a later period in the meeting of this Congress there will be fitting votes of thanks duly proposed and seconded, but there are times that are peculiar and demand special recognition. We have had at our several Congresses many surprises that have delighted us and many manifestations of kindness and hospitality that have cheered our hearts and deepened our gratitude, but in your arrangements for this Chambersburg Congress there have been not a few unique and surprising features. I have been asked on the part of our Executive Committee to refer to two or three of these now when we have this happy convocation here amid the glorious woods and fresh and stimulating air, because we have so many gathered here on this auspicious occasion that may not at any of our future meetings be thus convened.

And the first of these is in regard to one of those delightful things which make up our home life and that wonderful life of charm and delicacy that precedes the home life, that is in common parlance called the time and occasion of courtship and all the joys that are connected with that side of happy human life. We have had to-day a perfectly surprising and unique feature in the splendid hospitality that has been prepared and shown, and yet to culminate at a later period, in the services of these young ladies, who have, with such beautiful tact, open-handedness, and sweet foresight of provision, provided for us this entertainment which we have just enjoyed; and it is my great pleasure to say that we were not only hungry when we went in and surprised while we were there, but we are now in the condition in which the Scotch guard surprised the travelers in a certain coupé on the North British Mail bound for the grouse-shooting, who, when he looked in and saw the compartment packed, said, and so I say: "You are all full in there." We are abundantly satisfied, and we are prepared now to listen to the intellectual repast, but our desire is to express our thanks to the ladies of the Hospitality Committee, who have given us this fresh token of their great kindness.

There is a second feature to which it is proper that reference should be made at this time. While we call ourselves the Scotch-Irish of America, we assert, because we know it to be true, that of all Americans we have become the most truly American; and there

is a remarkable reason for that. From the time that our ancestors left their Scottish homes because of the inducements of the British government to find a new settlement in Ulster, they knew no home. They knew a resting place for a few years in those northern counties of Ireland; but just about the time when they thought they had found a home they felt the iron hands on their necks, and they turned their faces westward to try to make their only true home on the western shores; and therefore it is that so deep down in their strong hearts has grown the love of this land; and they wrote as their motto not only "Liberty" but also "Liberty and Law," and they have been heap-full of that scriptural injunction that commands them to "honor dignity and show respect to those that are clothed with office;" and our second reason of satisfaction and joy at this midday meeting is that we have with us here this afternoon the representative of law and authority in this State, which by reason of its history and achievements has won—and so worthily won—the name of the Keystone State, and we hail with exceeding great pleasure the presence of his excellency, the Governor of Pennsylvania.

There is a third feature. We have—and not a few have—referred to the early days when the hardy and unfearing Scotch-Irishman, and sometimes the Scotch-Irish women, not less fearless than their husbands and fathers, helped to pass the dark and troublous times; but as I sat here to-day and saw before me one part of that remarkable work which has been carried on at the adjoining school at Carlisle and developed by the wonderful sagacity and practical judgment and perfect common sense and broad and liberal methods and administration of Col. Pratt and saw how he had now joined with us in this movement of peace and gladness, these friends from Carlisle, making the music of the moment, deepening its peace and enjoyment, I could not help but thank that wonderful Providence that rules over and that by strong ways brings together those who have been severed before, and see what God has wrought in these lads and those who are joined with them in that splendid institution that combines intellect, patriotism, and piety, and I think the Scotch-Irish Society avails itself of a happy opportunity when it congratulates the Governor, and through the Governor the State, Col. Pratt and our friends here who are joined with him, for your sweet music and for the delight shown us in this feature of our Mont Alto meeting.

FROM THE PRESS.

OPENING EVENING.

[From the Chambersburg (Pa.) *Public Opinion*.]

The opening session of the Scotch-Irish Congress will be held in Rosedale Opera House this evening. The programme will be an excellent one and will open with music by the orchestra. The invocation will be offered by Rev. Dr. J. Agnew Crawford, pastor emeritus of the historic Falling Springs Presbyterian Church. The singing of the 100th Psalm will follow, after which Rev. Dr. John S. MacIntosh, of Philadelphia, Vice President General and Honorary Secretary, will make a brief statement. He will be followed by Rev. Dr. Samuel A. Martin, President of Wilson College, in the address of welcome, the response to which will be made by Rev. George Macloskie, LL.D., of Princeton University. Then will come the announcements of papers and addresses, followed by music. Immediately following the musical number will be the address of Col. Alex K. McClure. At the conclusion of Col. McClure's address, Miss Elsie Stewart will sing the famous Scotch song, "My Hame Is Where the Heather Blows." Hon. Bayard Henry, of Philadelphia, will follow with an address. Then Miss M. Rose Flautt, of the Wilson College musical faculty, will sing, "I'm Wearin' Awa', Jean;" after which John M. Cooper, of Martinsburg, Pa., will read a paper on "The Paths and Roads of Our Forefathers." There will be an address by Charles Walter, Esq., after which there will be music by the orchestra, under the direction of Prof. J. Emory Shaw, a sufficient guarantee that it will be first-class.

Among the decorations will be the banner of the Caledonian Club of Philadelphia, the Irish flag, the blue banner of the Covenanters, and the flag of the Governor of the State. The Decorating Committee, under the Chairmanship of Miss Bessie McGowan, will to-day arrange the decorations.

The sessions on Friday will be held at Mont Alto Park.

On Saturday the Congress will return to Rosedale Opera House, where morning and afternoon sessions will be held.

On Saturday evening the Glee Club of Wilson College will give a concert in Gymnasium Hall, to be followed by a reception to the members of the Scotch-Irish Congress.

On Sunday Covenanter services will be held by the Society in Rocky Spring Presbyterian Church. These meetings are open to the public, and a cordial reception is extended. Orchestral and vocal music will be rendered at each session. The band from the Indian school at Carlisle will furnish music at Mont Alto Park.

Col. Gilmore announces that the Glee Club concert, one of the annual functions of Wilson College commencement, will be given this year in the hall of the new gymnasium, on Saturday evening, June 1, at 7:30 o'clock. The musical selections for the concert, now in rehearsal, will embrace a number of Scotch and Irish airs in compliment to the members and friends of the Society who are expected to be present.

The concert will be followed at 9 o'clock by a reception tendered by the president and faculty of the college to the members and guests of the Scotch-Irish Society who have been in attendance at the Congress and to the ladies and gentlemen of the local committees connected therewith.

The gentlemen who have been announced as composing the several committees for the Scotch-Irish Congress are requested to procure from D. O. Gehr, Esq., Secretary, the ribbon bow badges which it is desired they shall wear during the Congress. The bows are a neat combination of Presbyterian blue and Irish green and orange.

THE FIRST MEETING.

[From the Chambersburg (Pa.) *Public Opinion*.]

For more than a week the rain poured down at intervals, the cessation on Wednesday night being the first let-up on the part of Jupiter Pluvius. The weather prophet gave no assurance that the downpour even then had exhausted itself, predicting rains for yesterday.

For once Col. Gilmore, Chairman of the local Executive Committee of the Scotch-Irish Society, was up bright and early. He wanted to see about the weather, and when he saw the sunshine he gave thanks, and after giving thanks he surprised his friends by an early appearance on the streets. It almost took the breath away from them to see him up for the concert of the birds and with that cheerful Scotch-Irish smile which rewarded their greetings. The Colonel, be it known, is in the habit of going to bed late and getting up late.

On Wednesday night he went to bed late and got up early, and he wanted his friends to know it.

The returning bright skies had brought to him and the rest of his committee and other committees good cheer. True it is, and pity 'tis, 'tis true, there were great overhanging clouds here and there bigger than a man's hand, but the indications were for real May weather at last, and that meant a clear day for the Scotch-Irish Society and the friends at Mont Alto.

Should the weather be propitious, everybody will be there to-day to enjoy the day and its feast of good things literary, historical, musical, and for the inner man.

The opening session of the Scotch-Irish Society of America in Rosedale Opera House last evening was a notable occasion, which drew to the hall a large, fashionable, and appreciative audience. On the platform were Dr. MacIntosh, Dr. Macloskie, Judge Stewart, Dr. Martin, Dr. Crawford, Col. Gilmore, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and members of the committee and others. The decorations of the stage were chaste and in keeping with the brilliant event. Blending with the stars and stripes were the Governor's flag, the Caledonian Club banner, of Philadelphia, the Irish flag and the "blue banner of the Covenanters." The committee, composed of young ladies, at the head of which was Miss Bessie McGowan, showed exquisite taste in the artistic display of the decorations.

Col. James R. Gilmore, Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, opened meeting with the following remarks: "In his letter expressing his regret at being unable to revisit Chambersburg and attend the sessions of the Scotch-Irish Congress, Judge Buffington, of Pittsburg, closed with the suggestion that 'there is no more fitting place for the Society to meet than in the Cumberland Valley, which assuredly was the American cradle of the Scotch-Irish babe.' And now, in the Queen City of this beautiful American cradle, I have the pleasure as well as the great distinction of calling to order the first public session of the Eighteenth Congress of the Scotch-Irish Society of America. The audience will please rise while the Rev. Dr. Crawford invokes the divine blessing."

After the invocation by Rev. Dr. Crawford, Rev. Dr. J. S. MacIntosh, of Philadelphia, was introduced and made a happy address. He expressed his regret at the absence of the president, O. P. Temple, of Knoxville, Tenn., who was unable to be here. Dr. MacIntosh then announced the election of Hon. John Stewart as President

of the National Society. The applause which greeted the announcement of the selection showed clearly that the honor met the approbation of the large audience and the Society. Judge Stewart made a brief speech in accepting the honor, saying it was the province of the Scotch-Irishman to keep the Sabbath and everything else he could get.

Dr. Martin was then introduced to deliver the address of welcome. He was unusually happy in his remarks, as the applause which interrupted his words proved.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH CONGRESS.

[From the Chambersburg (Pa.) *Public Opinion*.]

The meeting in Chambersburg, Pa., of the Tenth Congress of the Scotch-Irish Society of America, May 30 to June 2, should enlist the interest of all who feel a pride in the achievements of the Scotch-Irish race. Annual Congresses have been held in Columbia, Tenn.; Pittsburg, Pa.; Louisville, Ky.; Atlanta, Ga.; Springfield, Ohio; Des Moines, Iowa; Lexington, Va.; Harrisburg, Pa.; and Knoxville, Tenn. Each year's transactions have been put in enduring form. Up to the present time nine volumes have appeared. The tables of contents in these volumes exhibit a wide range of subjects handled by authors of research and ability.

Chambersburg was selected as the scene of the present Congress because the Cumberland Valley was a center for the Scotch-Irish in colonial and other periods. The Society includes a membership eminent in statesmanship, in the professions, and in all the walks of life, whose ancestors in many instances were the pioneers of the Cumberland Valley. The approaching Congress will be interested, in large part, by the history of the Kittochtinny and its environments afforded in papers which will be presented by local writers and others and addresses which will be made by eloquent speakers.

The sessions on Thursday, May 30, will be held in Rosedale Opera House, Chambersburg, on Friday, May 31, at Mont Alto Park, to which mountain resort trains will be run from all points in the Cumberland Valley; and again on Saturday, June 1, morning and afternoon at Rosedale Opera House, and in the evening at Wilson College, where a reception will be tendered the visitors, to be fol-

lowed with a concert by the College Glee Club, in which Scotch-Irish ballads will be important features on the programme. On Sunday morning an interesting Covenanter service will be held in the old church at Rocky Spring, a few miles north of Chambersburg. The church is yet standing, with its ancient brick walls little impaired, the old winding pulpit, the altar, the clerk's desk, time-worn but unchanged, and containing the high-back pews in which the Scotch-Irish fathers worshiped. The occasion will be notable on account of the historic surroundings the Cumberland Valley affords and the charming scenery to be enjoyed at its best at this season.

The objects and aims of the Scotch-Irish Society of America, which is to perpetuate the history of the race, will be advanced by its meetings in a field so rich in all that pertains to a posterity intensely American and with a love of country and her institutions which the Scotch-Irish have been foremost in establishing and upholding.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH CONGRESS OPENS ITS TENTH ANNUAL SESSION.

[From the Harrisburg Recorder.]

The tenth annual session of the National Scotch-Irish Congress of America began in Rosedale Opera House Thursday evening with eclat and the promise of a remarkably pleasant gathering. On the various trains on Memorial Day came the distinguished members of the Society, most of them accompanied by their wives and other lady relatives.

Rosedale was especially decorated for the occasion by the committee of ladies. On the back of the stage hung the beautiful banner of the Caledonia Society, of Philadelphia, presented by their lady friends in 1876. Overhead was a border of the Society's colors—blue, green, and orange—festoons of which also adorned the front of the gallery. On either side of the proscenium arch were displayed two Covenanter flags (from Philadelphia), three Irish flags, the official flag of the Governor of Pennsylvania, Old Glory, and a tricolor Irish standard. The effect was artistic and pretty and was enhanced by palms and flowers in profusion.

At 8 p.m. the orchestra, led by Prof. J. Emory Shaw, Musical Director of Wilson College, played two selections while the large audience was being seated.

Col. James R. Gilmore, who has been indefatigable in the work of preparing for the Congress, called the meeting to order, quoting Judge Buffington, of Pittsburg, that no better place for the meeting could have been found than the Queen City of the Cumberland Valley.

Rev. Dr. J. Agnew Crawford made the opening invocation in his faultless and impressive manner. All present then joined in singing the grand old One Hundredth Psalm, Prof. Shaw playing the accompaniment on the piano.

Rev. Dr. John S. MacIntosh, Vice President General and Honorary Secretary, who is also Secretary of the Freedmen's Board of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, was introduced. The Doctor made a very enjoyable address, bearing mainly upon the diverse characteristics of the Scotch-Irish peoples. He led up gradually to the qualifications of a typical Scotch-Irishman, brains, blood, and bearing, and expressed regret at the absence of President O. P. Temple, of Knoxville, Tenn., who could not be present. He then announced the election of Judge John Stewart, of our town, as President of the Society, selected by the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Loud and continued applause greeted President Stewart's assumption of the chair. In a brief and graceful speech he accepted the honor, saying that a Scotch-Irishman was noted for keeping the Sabbath day and everything else he got hold of. He then took the chair, and the orchestra gave another selection.

Rev. Dr. Samuel A. Martin, President of Wilson College for Women, then made the address of welcome in that cultured, half-humorous, altogether-pleasing, and genial manner which has made him so popular as a public speaker. He warmly welcomed the guests, the members of the Congress, to the garden spot of the world. The Garden of Eden is believed to have been located at the head of the Falling Spring. No synopsis can do justice to such an address, and we shall not attempt one.

The response was made by Prof. George Macloskie, LL.D., of Princeton University, who began with a tribute to America and Old Glory and later told much of the nature and attributes of the Scotch-Irish. His talk was pleasing and won hearty appreciation.

Col. Gilmore announced some of the papers to be read at Mont Alto and told of a number of visitors who would be present.

The orchestra then gave a selection.

Alexander Armstrong, Esq., a member of the Washington Coun-

ty (Md.) bar, then read a very delightful and entertaining paper upon "One or Two Other Scotch-Irishmen," which was heard with pleasure and attention and loudly applauded.

Miss Elsie Stewart, daughter of the newly elected President, then sung, in her accomplished and talented style, "Scots Whae Hae," and as an encore, persistently demanded, "Coming through the Rye."

Very kindly Judge Stewart presented Col. Alexander K. McClure, now of Philadelphia, once of Chambersburg, who was greeted with rapturous applause.

The Colonel began telling that there was no history written of the Scotch-Irish. They were great in deeds, but not in words. The Quakers and Puritans had volumes of history, some of it not true. The wrong is to be corrected, and the speaker appealed to all Scotch-Irishmen to hunt up and preserve all archives and matters of history relative to the race. He said that the race came up through battle and evolution to dominate, no matter where it makes its home.

The member of that race first puts his faith in God, then in his country. There are not so many Scotch-Irish in this valley now because they have gone elsewhere, to places where they were more badly needed. With another appeal for historical research and perpetuation of the events made noted by the race, the Colonel concluded amidst great applause.

Miss Marcella Rose Flautt, of the music faculty of Wilson College, sung with fine interpretation and with great *expressivo* the sentimental old ballad "Land of the Leal." The meeting then closed.

AT MONT ALTO.

The uncertainty of the weather this morning prevented many from attending the proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Congress at Mont Alto. Notwithstanding this, several hundred were present and many more went out in the afternoon to hear Gov. Stone, who arrived at 1:50 o'clock.

The meetings were held in the pavilion and were presided over by President Stewart. At the morning session, Dr. John S. MacIntosh, Secretary of the American Society, stated the objects for which the organization had been formed—the collection of data relative to the Scotch-Irish which their forefathers had failed to preserve.

Hon. S. M. Wherry, of Shippensburg, followed with a most in-

teresting paper on "Old Middle Spring," in which he gave an account of the important position that settlement held in the early days of the province, and read the names of those who had gone forth from it to build up the new world.

Linn Harbaugh, Esq., followed with an interesting paper on "German Thought in a Scotch-Irish Settlement," in which he told of the important place filled by the Germans in this section.

After this paper a recess was taken for dinner. The Indian band of Carlisle was present and rendered a number of selections during the day.

Gov. William A. Stone arrived at 1:50 and was met at the station by the band and the entire assembly and escorted to the grounds. After he had procured lunch he addressed the Congress.

GREETED THE GOVERNOR.

Gov. William A. Stone, Mrs. Stone, Senator Henry and wife, and quite a party of other prominent folks from Harrisburg went to Mont Alto on C. V. R. R. train No. 5 this afternoon, arriving at Mont Alto at 1:50. Passing Scotland School the boy's battalion was drawn up and gave salute. The bands were there; and the girls, wearing their white dresses, gave the Chautauqua salute. The Governor stood on the platform of the car and waved his hat to the party, and remarked later: "That is a beautiful sight."

LADIES PLAN A PICNIC FOR THE SCOTCH-IRISH.

[From the Chambersburg (Pa.) *Public Opinion*.]

Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, there was a large attendance at the meeting of the ladies of the Entertainment Committee for the approaching Scotch-Irish Congress in the parlors of the Central Presbyterian Church on Saturday morning. Mrs. Chauncey Ives was elected President; Mrs. Theodosia Nixon, Treasurer; Mrs. A. Nevin Pomeroy, Secretary. The plans for the entertainment of the National Society at Mont Alto Park, where the sessions will be held on Friday, May 31, were discussed, and will be more fully determined upon at an adjourned meeting which will be held in the same place this afternoon at three o'clock, when all the members of the committee are expected to be present. The arrangements are for what will be in the nature of a basket picnic,

so that all in attendance will have ample supplies of refreshments for the members of the Congress and others who will be present.

The young ladies composing the Decoration Committee held a meeting on Saturday afternoon. They organized by the election of Miss Bessie S. McGowan as Chairman. This committee is entering with spirit upon the work assigned it. Novel and appropriate designs are under consideration for what will constitute the decorations in the opera house at the park, and at Wilson College on the evening of the reception. Chief among these will be the national flag, and colors blending with ensigns and colors of the Scots and Ulsters.

The ladies' committees may be trusted to discharge their duties with a grace and intelligence for which the women of our town and Wilson College are so well known, and by their presence assist in making the sessions of the Scotch-Irish Society Congress in Chambersburg a crowning success.

The ladies of the Entertainment Committee for the Scotch-Irish Congress, who met Saturday morning in the parlors of Central Presbyterian Church, performed a graceful act by selecting as president of their committee Mrs. Emma Culbertson Ives, a lineal descendant of one of the oldest and most prominent Scotch-Irish families in the county. The young ladies of the Decoration Committee, meeting in the afternoon, were equally felicitous in their choice of a chairman, having named Miss Bessie S. McGowan, representing the fifth generation of the family of Col. Benjamin Chambers, the founder of Chambersburg.

ROCKY SPRING CHURCH.

[From the Chambersburg (Pa.) *Public Opinion*.]

Those interested in the meeting of the Scotch-Irish Society will assemble at Rocky Spring Church to-morrow and hold a Covenant service. This old church is one of the noted historic landmarks of our county, of which we are justly proud. Nothing could be more appropriate than the holding of the service at this old Presbyterian Church, the first edifice of which was erected in 1738, just one hundred years after the drawing up in Scotland of the bond of union, known as the National Covenant.

The original church was a frame structure, a story and a half high, and about thirty or forty feet in size. It was plain and simple, similar in architectural design to other meetinghouses of the early Scotch-Irish settlers. In 1794 this structure was torn down and the present brick building erected. It also is simple in design, but is probably more pretentious than the original church.

Those who go there for the first time to-morrow will not fail to be impressed by it. One can visit it so often as to become familiar with it, and yet each visit is an inspiration. Its architecture, its brick floor, its high, straight-backed benches, the lofty pulpit with its winding stair below and sound-board overhead, its surroundings all speak of the long ago. This of the building, but how much more impressive is the graveyard by its side! Its old tombs, with their lichen-covered stones telling of the life and death of bygone generations, are awe-inspiring.

It must have been some such graveyard in England that inspired in Thomas Gray the thoughts that found expression in the words:

Beneath those rugged elms, that ewe tree's shade,
Where heaves the turf in many a moldering heap,
Each in his narrow cell forever laid,
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.

And these:

No farther seek his merits to disclose,
Or draw his frailties from their dread abode
(There they alike, in trembling hope, repose),
The bosom of his father and his God.

In this place it is easy to conjure up the scene in the church and churchyard of Greyfriars in Edinburgh, when in 1638 those sturdy old Scotchmen gathered and signed the covenant to spare neither mental anguish, bodily fatigue, nor physical suffering, to maintain the foundations of their own and their father's faith. One can readily imagine the solemnity of the place, the sternness of the Covenanters, the rigor of the compact, and the strife it entailed. It is an eminently suitable place for such a meeting as will be held there to-morrow, and all who attend must be impressed with that fact.

COVENANTER SERVICE OF THE SCOTCH-IRISH CONGRESS.

[From the Chambersburg (Pa.) *Public Opinion*.]

The Covenanter service for the members of the Scotch-Irish Congress at Rocky Spring Church, Sunday morning, was attended by perhaps twelve hundred citizens of town and country. Every road leading to the historic spot was lined with carriages. In Chambersburg vehicles were engaged a week before, and more teams could not be had at any price. The sunshine and cloudless morning made the day pleasant, although cool enough for the use of wraps and the spring overcoat.

Although the services were announced for eleven o'clock, they did not begin until ten or fifteen minutes later. Dr. MacIntosh ascended the ancient stairway to the high pulpit and pronounced the invocation. Rev. J. A. Crawford read and expounded the twenty-third Psalm. William G. Reed occupied the chair at the desk of the precentor and conducted the singing, while Dr. Crawford lined out the words according to the Covenanter customs of old. The Psalm was sung to the tune of old "Flushing," the congregation heartily joining, and the precentor sweetly ringing in the closing line in tenor.

Rev. Dr. McLanahan, of Orange, N. J., then read the forty-fourth Psalm in connection with the twelfth chapter of Hebrews. Prof. Macloskie, previous to offering prayer, spoke impressively of the occasion which called them together. It reminded him of like services in Ireland. He said that the chief motive in this gathering was to do good, socially and religiously. Again reverting to the old church in Ireland, he was reminded of the lessons he once gave there to a youth in 1859, who later entered the ministry, and whose son was now in this country preaching the gospel. The Doctor, as he proceeded, was moved to tears. He then made a fervent prayer, thanking God for this old church and for the sparkling waters outside; asking for the blessings of God upon the congregation: make them as the fathers who worshiped here—faithful, and as one family.

The old Hebrew song of degrees was then sung, Dr. MacIntosh for this purpose giving out the one hundred and twenty-second Psalm, which was again followed with a brief prayer.

Dr. MacIntosh then followed with a sermon from the text: "It is good that a man bear the yoke in his youth." He alluded to the Ulster fathers of the Church in the old country and the trials of the

colonists in the early days of our own land. What was a source of strength to our ancestors, who under the guidance of God, had borne the yoke, was the same support for those who followed, and what was true of the meek and lowly Jesus, as he bore his yoke, was an example for us. He then spoke of what the Scotch-Irish had endured, what they had accomplished, and the wonderful educative influence they had exerted. "Liberty and law" was the shield of the Society. What had come to be a chief principle was to give every man his own, and another still was the "brotherhood of man." They could draw things together and hold them together. They cared for their conscience and their God; a free Church in a free land. They stood Knoxlike, fearing not the face of man. They were exemplars in the mastery of citizenship, and, having borne the yoke, were victorious through the yoke. With some of the races it had required the experiences of the colonial days to bear the white man's burdens and prepare for the Revolution. The Scotch-Irish had stepped on the shores ready-made revolutionists. Their influence was felt from New England to Mecklenburg.

Dr. MacIntosh spoke ably and eloquently, admonishing all that if they would wait on the Lord they would never be brought to shame. It was an especially good thing to bear the yoke in youth. "I will wait on the Lord, for it is good that a man bear his burden in his youth."

The services closed with the singing of the one hundredth Psalm and the benediction.

[From the Chambersburg (Pa.) *Public Opinion*.]

The members of the Scotch-Irish Society express great satisfaction with results of the Tenth Annual Congress. The objects of the Society have been greatly advanced by the meeting in the Cumberland Valley. This is apparent from the titles of the historical papers prepared, read, and handed in, and the painstaking industry of the authors in their researches. Equally pleased were the visitors with Chambersburg and their reception and treatment by our people.

Credit is due Col. Gilmore, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, and his Secretary, D. O. Gehr, Esq., for the success of their work. Upon Col. Gilmore much of the responsibility rested

for carrying forward to a successful conclusion the plans and objects of the Society.

It was an honor for our town to have the national Society meet here, and we are assured the members will take their departure with a good impression of their sojourn in the Queen City of the Cumberland Valley.

The selection of our worthy townsman, the Hon. John Stewart, as President of the Scotch-Irish Society of America is an honor that will at once impress all who know of his great ability and eminent fitness for the place as an honor worthily granted. Aside from the feat that this historical town of Chambersburg is so fittingly recognized, the presidency of Judge Stewart is a tribute to the Society over whose deliberations he has been chosen to preside.

THE TENTH CONGRESS.

[From the *Baltimore American*.]

MR. JAMES P. MATTHEWS, of Baltimore, who has returned from the annual meeting of the Scotch-Irish Society of America at Chambersburg, Pa., says that this Congress was regarded by all the members in attendance as the most successful that has yet been held. It is the policy of the Society to meet in the places most likely to furnish material for its annual publications, and the Cumberland Valley proved to be a most prolific field for historical exploitation. Nearly all the papers read at the Congress were written by natives of the Valley, and three of the speakers at the session held at Mont Alto Park on Friday (Hon. John Stewart, of Chambersburg; Hon. Robert Snodgrass, of Harrisburg; and James P. Matthews, of Baltimore), who were called to the platform in accidental succession, happened to be pupils in the same class at the Shippensburg Academy in 1851-52, and a fourth one (Hon. S. M. Wherry) was a schoolboy associate of the same age and reared in the same neighborhood.

The reception given to the members of the Congress at Wilson College on Saturday evening was probably the most brilliant social event that ever occurred in the Valley. Three hundred pretty schoolgirls, in their commencement gowns, with the

president of the college, the ladies of his family, the members of the faculty, and a few of the *alumnæ*, made up a receiving party which it would be difficult to match in any part of the world. The members of the Congress, being, for the most part, gentlemen of mature years and fixed domestic relations, were permitted to mingle in the throng of bright-eyed, bare-armed girls and to hear the chatter and banter of budding beauty and wit. A committee composed of the entire junior class had charge of the Scotch-Irish guests, and it was the special duty of these young ladies to put the timid old gentlemen through the routine of the reception, and to assist them in maintaining their composure amid the brilliant and bewildering surroundings.

The Sunday service at Rocky Ridge Church (five miles from town) was the crowning event of the Congress. The day was most favorable, and probably three hundred people drove out from Chambersburg, while an equal number gathered from the surrounding neighborhood. The original building was erected by the first Scotch-Irish settlers about 1738. The good, solid, old-fashioned edifice, with brick floor and high pulpit topped out with a sounding-board, in which the Covenanter mode of public worship was observed on Sunday last, dates back to 1794.

There was a subtle something in the atmosphere of the place, possibly derived from its historic associations, which took possession of the whole assembly. In the familiar "Parting Hymn" this indefinable feeling is called "the fellowship of kindred minds," and perhaps no better definition could be given. When Prof. Macloskie, of Princeton University, stood up to make the opening prayer he ventured to say a word in explanation of the emotion that was overpowering him, and started to tell of a great religious movement that had swept over a portion of Ulster in his younger days; but his voice soon began to falter, and tears began to flow, while many who were sitting near broke into a sympathetic sob. A trained jurist, who has for many years been cultivating judicial immobility of face and features, surrendered to the emotion of the moment, and even the newspaper reporters did not escape the contagion. Nobody could have given any good reason for crying, but the fact that tears did "unbidden flow" could not be denied.

Rev. Dr. Crawford, pastor emeritus of the Falling Spring Presbyterian Church, read the twenty-third Psalm, commenting on each metrical couplet as he read, after the manner of the old

Covenanter preachers. Portions of the fortieth, the one hundred and twenty-second, and the one hundredth Psalms were sung during the service, each metrical couplet being read to the congregation, as in the old times, when books were scarce. Mr. William B. Reed, of Chambersburg, was precentor, and Prof. Macloskie gave the lines from memory. The sermon by Rev. Dr. MacIntosh, of Philadelphia, was in keeping with the occasion, and lifted the eager listeners up to a higher plane of self-sacrifice, patient endurance, submission to discipline, and heroic action, when the time for action comes. Rev. Dr. McLanahan, formerly pastor of the Lafayette Square Presbyterian Church, of Baltimore, now of Lawrenceville, N. J., assisted in the services.

The members of the Congress will long remember the courtesies received from the people of Chambersburg. Their hospitality was touched with a dash of enthusiasm that set many gentle souls to wearing the badge of the Scotch-Irish Society and brought large audiences to every meeting. The next annual session of the Congress will be held at Charlotte, N. C., when the Mecklenberg patriots (mostly Scotch-Irish immigrants from the Cumberland Valley) will receive due consideration.

PART II.

The following addresses are published as they were delivered, and we do not assume any responsibility for the views of the speakers.

O. P. TEMPLE,
JOHN S. MACINTOSH,
JOHN McLLHENNY,
G. MACLOSKIE,
Publishing Committee.

ONE OR TWO OTHER SCOTCH-IRISHMEN.

BY ALEXANDER ARMSTRONG, ESQ., HAGERSTOWN, MD.

It was in the month of March, I think, when Col. Gilmore put in an appearance at my office in Hagerstown, and gave me some information in regard to the Scotch-Irish meeting which was to take place at Chambersburg at this time. He invited me to read a short paper, and in an unguarded moment I consented, really without knowing fully what I was doing. The Colonel was so alluring that it was a little difficult to resist his solicitations, and here I am without much more preparation than when he first asked me to write the paper, several months ago.

After the Colonel left I got to thinking about it, and, *imprimis*, it became a question with me whether my credentials were sufficiently assured to entitle me to appear here as a member of this body, and all that I can do is to offer the fact that many years ago—centuries, I believe—one of my ancestors lived along the border between Scotland and England, and was accounted a Scotchman. He had rather a questionable reputation. It seems that he had a predilection for mutton, and a preference for that of his neighbors' raising rather than of his own. This, along with other predatory characteristics, brought him and his comrades into disrepute, and when King James V. determined that he would suppress the turbulence that prevailed along the border, Johnny Armstrong, with a number of his men, went to see the king, and offered to assist him in overthrowing the freebooters. It is not known to this day whether Johnny Armstrong was truly penitent for his past offenses and meant to amend his ways and aid the king, or whether he was "playing it" on His Royal Highness. The king, being in doubt, took the trick and hanged Johnny Armstrong and all his men on the hillside upon trees near Hawick.

This incident in connection with Johnny Armstrong and his border men has given a theme for the Scotch poet, and you will remember that Johnny has since been rated a hero rather than a desperado, and I prefer to stand on the later judgment of posterity in regard to this one of my ancestors.

I must, therefore, offer as my right to be here to-day my

descent from the Armstrongs, "Johnny" and William, "Kinmont Willie," and William, "Christy's Will" in succession.

If there was a doubt in my mind as to the propriety of my coming here as a descendant of the Armstrongs, not knowing exactly the requirements for admission to membership in this Society, I think I can advance my right to admission on other grounds. For about a quarter of a century I have been associated with the Scotch-Irish by marriage, and I think that when one marries a wife who is a descendant of a Scott on the paternal side and a McPherson on the maternal, that of itself would give him strong claims to representation here. One thing is assured: that in twenty-five years he would be thoroughly indoctrinated with the great worth of the Scotch-Irish character and its disciplinary quality. If my claims are not good by consanguinity, I prop them up by those that arise by affinity.

The next difficulty which assailed me was to know what I could say that would be of interest here where there are so many gathered together who know more about the purpose of this Society than I do and more about the Scotch-Irish people in this land of America. I take it that the purpose of this Society in a certain sense is a self-glorification affair, and yet who will gainsay us? who will deny us the glorious boon of recalling the deeds of our ancestors, and of reciting their virtues long after their bones are dust? Why should we not pass to our children, and to their children, the memories of those who were notable in their day and generation, and who were worthy exemplars of truth and probity and honor for all time to come?

In the section of Maryland in which I was born and which lies just across the Mason and Dixon Line, and between the State line and the Potomac River, of course, in the earlier time there drifted a few persons of Scotch-Irish descent, and, like all of the race, they became men of prominence in the community. Among these were two brothers who lived over in Hagerstown, and, of course, were actively associated with the Presbyterian Church in that locality. The Church at Hagerstown was the only Presbyterian Church in the community at that time, and all of the Scotch-Irish people came in from miles around to attend services on the Sabbath.

The name of these brothers was Kennedy—Hugh and John. John was the married one, and from him there were a number

of descendants, nearly all of whom have since died. One of his daughters was married to James Dixon Roman, who was a man very prominent in Maryland politics prior to the war, an able lawyer and Governor of the State, serving also several terms in the Congress of the United States. John's descendants were all prominent in the county, and of the highest social position.

The other, Hugh Kennedy, was a bachelor, and perhaps being little trammelled with family cares and responsibilities, he devoted himself closely to the consideration of religious questions. In 1835 he died, leaving a will which is a matter of record in the Orphans' (Probate) Court of Washington County. After setting forth the fact that he was in perfect health of body and of sound and disposing mind, memory, and understanding, and that he had considered the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the time thereof, and that he was desirous of settling his worldly affairs, and thereby be the better prepared to leave this world when God would call him hence, he proceeded to dispose of his estate, the first item being a bequest of \$2,000 to the officers of the First Presbyterian Church in Hagerstown, then under the care of Rev. M. L. Fullerton, the said sum of \$2,000 to be invested by his executors and the interest to be paid over to the officers of the Church for the benefit of the pastor "for the time being, as long as he teaches the doctrines of truth contained in the Bible and the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Longer and Shorter, as they are now acknowledged and believed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the Associate Reformed or Associate Churches (all of whom are Presbyterian) as those standards are to be understood and explained, and as they were understood and explained by the framers of them without any mixtures of Pelagian, Socinian, Arminian, or Hopkinsian doctrines, or any of the errorists of the present day, or the doctrines of Taylor, Emmons, Barnes, Duffield, Duncan, or any other doctrine not contained in the Word of God and the above standards as they are now acknowledged and believed by the above-mentioned denomination. But if the above Church, officers, and congregation ever choose a man as pastor who believes and teaches any of the errors of the above systems or persons, and does not strictly adhere to the above standards, believing and practicing agreeable to their true and original meaning, then and in that case the officers and congregation above described shall lose all right and title to the above two thousand

dollars, and the above sum shall become the property of the corporation of Hagerstown forever for the use of the different Protestant denominations in said town, the interest of which to be annually distributed to each denomination for the use of common schools in town."

Then follows in the will various bequests to the American Bible Society, to the Missionary Society under the care of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in support of missionaries, to the Theological Seminary at Princeton, and to the Theological Seminary at Pittsburg "for the education of poor and pious young men for the ministry of the gospel taught agreeable to the standards of the Presbyterian Church."

Then, following numerous bequests to his relatives, by a codicil made on the 11th day of March, 1835, he makes further provision for the Presbyterian Church, then under the pastoral care of Rev. Richard Wynkoop, a certain lot of land with the bequest of \$2,500 to erect on said lot "a front house of brick and brick back building," concluding, "should Rev. Wynkoop cease to be the pastor of the above-mentioned congregation either by death, removal, or otherwise, then and in that case it is my will, and I hereby direct, that the house and lot and the appurtenances thereto belonging be used as a residence or parsonage by the minister who may be chosen by the congregation to succeed him, and so on forever. Provided, always, that the officers and congregation above mentioned shall continue to choose and elect as their pastors men who teach and practice the doctrines contained in the Confession of Faith and the Catechism, Longer and Shorter, as they are held and believed by the Presbyterian Church and Associate Reformed and the Associate Churches in the United States in this present year, eighteen hundred and thirty-five, free from all errors and heresies of Arian, Socinian, Armenian, Hopkinsian, or Pelagian teachers, and from other various grades of Pelagianism as all taught by Emmons, Barnes, Beecher, Taylor, Duffield, and other such errorists; and provided, further, that the same version of the divinely inspired psalms which has always been and still is used and sung in the First Presbyterian Church in Hagerstown shall continue to be used and sung in the public worship; but should the officers and members of the congregation above mentioned at any time hereafter elect and choose for their pastor a man whose theological opinions and teachings are in accordance with any of the above

errorists, or if at any time hereafter hymns or psalms of human composition ever be used and sung in said church in public worship, and substituted by the officers thereof in place of the version of the divinely inspired psalms at present and heretofore used and sung therein, then it is my will and express desire that the officers and congregation above mentioned shall forever cease to have any right, title, or claim to the above-mentioned lots of land, and I hereby devise and bequeath the same with the appurtenances in fee simple to James Hugh Kennedy."

In a later codicil he expresses his earnest desire and request that the clauses in his last will and testament and in the codicil thereunto belonging making bequests for the use of the said congregation, and containing the conditions and reasons on which said bequests are founded, be read by order of the Session of the Church at some public meeting of the congregation whenever their pulpit becomes vacant by the death or removal of their pastor, in order that the First Presbyterian Church of Hagerstown may at all times hereafter be guarded against doing any congregational acts which would deprive them of the benefits arising from the bequests and devises to them made in said last will.

It seems that the Presbyterians who lived after Hugh Kennedy were quite in accord with him on the subject of Pelagianism, Socinianism, and all the other isms against which his feelings were so manifestly directed; but there sprang up a difference between him and the people of the congregation on the subject of the singing of the psalms. He stood by Rouss's version, but the people had advanced for some reason or other as time passed, and the congregation got to singing "songs of human composition," which he so much deplored. The residuary legatees of Hugh Kennedy, noting this departure on the part of the congregation, filed a bill before the chancellor, setting forth the fact that the Presbyterians were violating the terms of the devise of the parsonage property; and the congregation (so much for the cause of truth) came squarely up and admitted the damaging fact, and the court decreed the sale of the parsonage. It was offered at public sale and sold back to the congregation for less than half its value, and it is openly asserted that the legatees of Hugh Kennedy contributed largely to the payment of the purchase price for which the property sold. "The best-laid plans of mice and men, gang aft a'glee," and so with Hugh Kennedy's.

He seemed to have been betrayed in the house of his friends, and by those of his own lineage. Rouss's version of the Psalms ceased to be chanted, and the new songs of Zion brought down to date were sung instead from that time forth.

Not then, not now, can the human mind be put under thrall. The independence of thought which has always characterized the Scotch-Irish character asserted itself, and with changed conditions and advancing ideas will continue to assert itself until the end of time.

It is very clear that Hugh Kennedy, like most Scotch-Irishmen, was a man of definite convictions. He had looked into the various "isms" that had sprung up in his time, and he had passed upon them all and given them a flat contradiction. If he had been asked, "Mr. Kennedy, what is the difference between orthodoxy and heterodoxy," he would have answered as did one before him: "Orthodoxy is my doxy, and heterodoxy is the other man's doxy."

These two men were such strong types of the Scotch-Irish character that I could not fail of reference to them at length. I venture to append to this paper a memorandum which I have marked "Exhibit Kennedy," which is taken from Scharf's "History of Western Maryland," in regard to the three Kennedy brothers, thinking it may be of interest to some who might want to know more about the family.

And there were others like them. There was a very prominent family by the name of Hughes. Barnabas, the ancestor of this family, came over from the County of Donegal and settled at Lancaster, and from there moved into Western Maryland. This family became notable, and the sons of Barnabas were conspicuous in the revolution for their zeal in behalf of the patriot cause. Cannon that were used in the Continental army were cast at their forges along the South Mountain. The youngest of the sons of Barnabas was Capt. John Hughes. He was in the revolutionary war, and, attending Maj. Andre in his confinement in prison, received his letters and his picture with the request that they should be sent over to his fiancée in England. John Hughes fulfilled all the requests of Maj. Andre, corresponded with his intended bride, giving her all the particulars of his confinement and of his death.

Then there were the Neills. William Neill, who was the great-

grandfather of Alexander Neill, who was the great-grandfather of the present Alexander Neill, of Hagerstown, Md., came over from the County of Antrim with his two brothers about 1770, and they too became well known, and from generation to generation held important positions in Washington County.

Some years ago a gentleman of observation and a native of Washington County said to me one day, "Has it ever occurred to you that, of all the people who were possessed of landed property in Washington County a century ago, all have departed and lost their inheritances, except those of Scotch-Irish descent?" and then drew my attention to the fact that several large and well-known estates in the lower part of the county lying about Williamsport were still owned by the descendants of the original proprietors; while, of the numerous and splendid manorial estates which had been granted to certain distinguished people in the latter part of the eighteenth century, every acre had been sold away from the original possessors, and their names had passed into utter oblivion.

Findlay and Williams are names which have been well known in Washington County and in Maryland, and the lands which were owned by these two families are still retained by those of the same descent, and the present holders of these alluvial acres of limestone soil look down upon their broad fields to-day as did their ancestors years and years ago.

From this notable circumstance in regard to the retention by the same family of their holdings of property and the dissipation of larger patrimonies by others of different birth and lineage we can appropriate to ourselves another distinguishing feature of the Scotch-Irish character—that of prudence, parsimony, and thrift—and these qualities, along with freedom of conviction and high intelligence, we believe will continue to make the Scotch-Irish the leaders in social and political life in this country in the years to come as they have been in the years that have gone.

A SCOTCH-IRISH GEM: OLD MIDDLE SPRING.

BY HON. S. M. WHERRY, SHIPPENSBURG, PA.

This is not a history, but a rough sketch of a scene of action with its lights and shadows of incident and accident. The perspective plane is a valley fifteen miles wide, stretching from the Susquehanna to the Maryland line, covered with brush and forest unbroken save by the narrow paths of wandering savages. On the south it is framed by the fragments of a once lofty mountain chain unnumbered ages old, tumbled to pieces by unseen forces, and molded into softest outline by the silent hand of Time. Its northern limit is a new-made lift of rock and earth, fresh—to speak by the measure of unknown geologic ages—from the hand of the Creator, with unbroken contour save where here and there a gateway is opened. So artificially perfect in line and form is it that it seems like a vast embankment of defense erected by the Titans of earth against the powers of Olympus, or a huge parapet thrown up by the giants' hands in their fabled wars with the gods.

Mark off crosswise on this perspective plane a section twelve miles wide, reaching from mountain to mountain, and including the great valley divide whence the waters flowing east find their way to the sea through the Susquehanna, and the waters flowing west and south are lost in the ocean through the Potomac. This is the Middle Spring of our picture. Into the very center of this segment of primeval forest, to the banks of the Middle Spring, in 1730, came Robert Chambers, one of the founders of an ancestral name as distinguished in history as it has been honored in private life. He himself was a member of the Justices' Court of Common Pleas of Cumberland County, of a commission dated March 10, 1750.

There and then was the Scotch-Irish germ planted at Middle Spring. Within a period of five years a large number of his national and religious confrères settled in the immediate vicinity, and Calvinistic worship of the straightest sort was held in the neighboring woods as often as the services of an orthodox minister could be obtained. It is not history, but a pleasant fic-

tion, to believe that these meetings may have been held upon the very lands some years later bought and yet, in part, held for the glebe.

In 1738 the first meetinghouse was built, and its first settled minister was Thomas Craighead, of Scottish birth and education, a man of eloquence and power, who filled these sturdy outlanders with the iron-clad faith of John Knox, and kept alive in them the liberty-loving spirit they had brought with them from Ulster.

It is interesting to note among the adherents of this early Church such familiar names as Chambers, Herron, Young, Mahon, Cox, Scott, Finley, McCune, Reynolds, Wherry, Mitchell, Brackenridge, Maclay, Brady, Morrow, Johnston, Strain, Irwin, McClelland, and others.

In 1745 John Blair, of Irish birth and educated under William Tennent at the Log College, Bucks County, Pa., became the religious and educational head of this sylvan community, and for fourteen years molded its thought and character, when he was called to the Chair of Divinity and the Vice Presidency of Nassau Hall. To him more than to any man of his day our Cumberland Valley ancestors owed the uplifting influence of refined life, of intellectual culture, of burning patriotism. Scholarly beyond his generation, strong in every element of human greatness, refined in the highest nobility of character, he shone like a summer sun upon the hearts and homes and lives of the brave, care-worn settlers of this Indian range. His uplifting, upbuilding impetus is felt to this day. In his school at Big Spring were educated some of our best men, notably three youths of Middle Spring: William Maclay, a member of the first United States Senate; Samuel Maclay, who served a term in both branches of Congress; and John Maclay, hereafter mentioned.

But the little Scotch-Irish germ planted in 1730 by Chambers and tended so faithfully by Blair was reared to the growth of a sturdy fruit-bearing tree by the ministration of Robert Cooper. He was an Irishman and a Princetonian, a man of extraordinary magnetism and personal power, stern in the discipline of his Church, strenuous in every line of life, born with the native Irish hatred of tyranny, a patriot of fiery zeal. In the councils of his Church he stood with the first. He was one of a select committee to formulate rules for the government of the Presby-

terian Church in America. He was moderator of the first General Meeting, known since as the General Assembly. In affairs of the province and in the struggles of the colonies he ranked with the statesmen and patriots of his day. No voice in all the land was louder than his for freeman's rights and an independent government for the American colonies. Standing at the top of the outside gallery stairs of his little log meetinghouse, with his sword by his side, he urged the men of his Church to leave home and family and fight for the liberties of the newborn nation. Armed with a chaplain's commission, he gave courage to the war-worn soldier on the field and comfort to the sick and dying in the camp. Armed with sword and musket, he marched with the rank and file and fought in the front under Washington. After thirty-one years of faithful service, he died in the midst of his devoted people, and lies buried in the shadow of the church he loved.

Along with Robert Cooper must be mentioned a member of his Church—William Linn, a graduate of Princeton—who studied theology under Cooper, was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Donegal in 1775, made chaplain of the Fifth and Sixth Battalions of the Pennsylvania troops in 1776, and continued with the army until the end of the war. He was a man of fine intellect and rare eloquence, and subsequently rose to distinction in the Presbyterian Church, and was elected Chaplain to the first Congress in 1789; John McKnight, a graduate of Princeton, a LL.D. of Yale, and a President of Dickinson College; Joshua Williams, for twenty-seven years pastor of the Big Spring Church; Matthew Brown, a President of Washington College; and Samuel Wilson, a graduate of Princeton, and thirteen years pastor of Big Spring Church—all these were students of theology under Dr. Cooper. In addition, also, to those already named, there was given to the Presbyterian Church, under the pastorate of Dr. Cooper, Francis Heron, son of Elder David Heron, a graduate of Dickinson College, who went first to Rocky Spring and then to Pittsburg, where he was largely instrumental in founding the theological school at Allegheny.

Middle Spring has many characters of Scotch-Irish birth whose names and achievements deserve a record on the pages of your journal. In the border defense of the Pennsylvania settlements against hostile Indians, and in the desperate struggle for pos-

session of the valleys of the Allegheny and Ohio between Protestant England and Catholic France, with her savage allies, no names shine with brighter luster than those of James McCalmont and Samuel Brady. When Col. James Smith, of Middle Spring birth, of Westmoreland County by adoption, a member of the Provincial Assembly, raised his famous band of "Rangers," McCalmont joined for the love of adventure, was made a major, and on Smith's return to legislative duty became its commander. When the exigency for which this company was raised ceased, he entered the continental army with the rank of colonel, and served to the end of the war. In testimony of his worth, his fellow-citizens elected him four times to the Legislature and made him Associate Judge for twenty years.

Samuel Brady enlisted at sixteen in the first company that marched from Pennsylvania to Boston. He fought through all that long retreat through New York and New Jersey, was raised to the rank of captain for bravery at Monmouth, and later, for his coolness and courage, was made chief of the spy brigade, and did most valuable service for his country. As an Indian fighter he was without a peer. The story of his deeds of skill and daring and hairbreadth escapes has stirred the blood of our youth for more than one hundred years.

In the struggle for territory between Lord Baltimore, of Maryland, and the Penns the men of Middle Spring took a large part. Indeed, were history read between the lines, it would be discovered that these wily Quakers had much to do with the large immigration of the fighting men of Ulster into the Cumberland Valley between 1730 and 1760. The doctrine of nonresistance was a beautiful sentiment on the banks of the Delaware, but a precarious *modus vivendi* beyond the Susquehanna. It was to the guns of these "fighting Irishmen" that the saintly Quaker proprietors looked for help to roll back and keep back these invaders from the south. In these efforts stands conspicuous John Reynolds, an elder in the Middle Spring Church, as noted for his courage as his piety. Both were unquestioned. As a mark of his worth, Gov. George Thomas, acting for the proprietary, made him one of the Board of Justices to adjudicate disputed land rights along the border. He made his home at what afterwards became Shippensburg, and left behind him a long line of worthy descendants.

On the 7th of June, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, presented to the second Continental Congress his historic resolution: "That the united colonies are and ought to be free and independent States, and that their political connection with Great Britain ought to be dissolved." Against this audacious resolution a majority of the Pennsylvania representatives in the Congress, under instructions from the Proprietary Assembly, cast their votes. At once a flame of patriotism swept over the province, and a conference of delegates from all the counties was called to meet in Philadelphia on the 18th of June, 1776. This conference unanimously declared for the Lee resolution, it was substantially adopted by the Congress a few days later, with the solid vote of Pennsylvania in its favor, and on the 4th day of July following the immortal declaration was issued to the world. Of the nine delegates from Cumberland County to this memorable Carpenters' Hall convention, three were members of Middle Spring Church: Hugh Alexander, John Maclay, and Hugh McCormick. Alexander was subsequently elected by popular vote, July 8, 1776, as one of the eighteen delegates from Cumberland County to the first constitutional convention held in Pennsylvania, which met in Philadelphia July 15, 1776, and drafted the first charter adopted by the people of this State. John Maclay was commissioned a justice in 1777 by order of the Supreme Executive Council, and was twice elected to the Legislature. He too was educated at the school of John Blair.

To speak individually of the Scotch-Irishmen of Middle Spring who took part in the French-Indian war and the revolutionary struggle would require a volume. The bones of some of them are mingled with the blood-stained soil of Canada, New England, White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, and Brandywine. Some were laid to rest in times of peace beside the church in which they had worshiped, some in private but now forgotten burying grounds in the valley, while others, in the shifting times succeeding war, drifted to various localities and are lost in oblivion.

James Dunlap, an elder in Middle Spring Church, was a major in the regiment of Col. William Irvine, of Carlisle, and fought with him under Gen. Sullivan in the disastrous campaign of Three Rivers. He was taken prisoner, and on his exchange was made colonel of Ephraim Blaine's famous regiment when he

(Blaine) was made a commissary general. In 1777, by order of the Supreme Executive Council, he was made Lieutenant of Militia of Cumberland County.

Samuel Maclay served as lieutenant in the same regiment under Col. Irvine, and was promoted to a captaincy under Col. Dunlap, made lieutenant colonel, twice elected to the State Senate, and once to the United States Senate.

Abraham Smith was a captain in the same regiment, was made colonel of Irvine's regiment when he (Irvine) was made brigadier general under Anthony Wayne, and later became brigade commander of the Eighth Battalion of Pennsylvania. He was three terms a member of the House of Representatives, three years a member of the Supreme Executive Council, a member of the constitutional convention of 1789, and four years a member of the State Senate.

Charles Leeper, a captain in the Second Pennsylvania Battalion under Col. John Davis, of Middleton Township, a justice by appointment of the Supreme Executive Council, was killed in the British butchery at "Crooked Billet," May, 1778.

Samuel McCune was a captain in Col. William Clarke's regiment, which fought so bravely at Ticonderoga.

William Peoples, an elder in the Church, served as captain at Long Island and White Plains, was made colonel September 23, 1776, and fought at Trenton and Princeton.

Matthew Scott, made prisoner in Col. Magaw's unfortunate attempt to hold Fort Washington, at New York, was soon exchanged and was promoted to a captaincy April 18, 1777.

Charles Maclay was a captain in the regiment of Col. John Armstrong, the hero of Kittanning. His company numbered a full hundred men, not one of whom, it is said, was less than six feet high. He too was in the butchery at "Crooked Billet."

William Rippey was a captain in Col. Irvine's regiment, made prisoner at Fort Washington, escaped, returned to Shippensburg, where he died, leaving a long line of descendants.

In addition to these were Cols. Benjamin Blythe, Robert Peebles, William Scott, James Scott, Robert Culbertson, Maj. James Herron, Cpts. Matthew Henderson, David McKnight, John McKee, William Strain, Joseph Brady, Robert Quigley, Samuel Walker, Samuel Blythe, and others, whom in the rapid shifting of Washington's slender forces it is

impossible to follow. If to these be added the names of no less brave patriots who fought in the ranks, the military glory of Middle Spring will shine resplendent.

In 1803 John Moodey, of Irish ancestry, Dauphin County nativity, and Princeton training, took charge of this Church and kept it for more than fifty years. During his ministry the war of 1812 was fought, as also the war with Mexico. In both these wars the people of Middle Spring bore their full part. In 1812 many of her most prominent members volunteered and hastened at their own expense to save Baltimore and Philadelphia from the shameful fate of Washington.

Dr. Moodey was a man of strong character, cultivated mind, lofty ideals, and conservative influence. Under him the community settled to permanency and rapidly advanced in wealth, education, and refinement. During his incumbency, in 1810, the celebrated Hopewell Academy, near Middle Spring, was opened under the care of John Cooper, only son of our Robert Cooper, and a graduate of Dickinson College under Charles Nesbit. He continued it with great success for twenty-two years, when declining health compelled him to close. In 1839 he removed to Peoria, where he died. Mr. Cooper's fame as a classical scholar, added to his singularly blameless and attractive life, drew about him the best youth of the entire valley. Of those under his instruction, there went to the Presbyterian ministry James Wood, Lewistown, Pa.; James Smith, Illinois; John H. Kennedy, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, Jefferson College; James Rodgers, Mt. Joy, Pa.; the three Williamson brothers—James to Silver Spring, Moses to Cold Spring, N. J., and McKnight to Dickinson; Lemuel G. Olmstead, of New York, to the Chair of Chemistry at Dickinson College; David D. Clark, to McVeyton, Pa.; Samuel McCune, to Canton, Ill.; Joseph McKee, to West Newton, Pa.; Frederick Shearer, to Illinois; James Holmes, to the Chickasaw Indian Mission, Mississippi; Edwin H. Nevin, to the presidency of Franklin College, Ohio; Alfred Nevin, to Chambersburg, and thence to the Presbyterian Journal, Philadelphia. To the Associate Reformed Church, Joseph Trimble and the distinguished Alexander Sharpe, of Newville. To the Protestant Episcopal Church, John W. McCullough and Samuel A. McCoskry, bishop of the diocese of Michigan. To the medical profession Prof. Cooper gave

Robert C. Hayes, of Shippensburg; David Wills, Chillicothe, Ohio; James Culbertson, Lewistown, Pa.; Robert Rodgers, Springfield, Ohio; William Greer, Iowa; David B. McGinley, Philadelphia; and John Smith, Richland, O. To the bar, William McClure, Harrisburg; Judge William H. McClure, Pittsburg; Charles McClure, Carlisle, Member of Congress and Secretary of the Commonwealth in 1843-45; Andrew Parker, Congressman from Mifflin County; Porter Wilson, Huntingdon County; John McGinley, Adams County; William McCullough, St. Louis, Mo.; and H. W. Reynolds, to the Chambersburg bar, and to the editorial chair of the *Repository*. To the navy, Com. Gabriel O'Brien and Isaac G. Strain, the celebrated explorer of the Isthmus of Darien. To the civil service of the United States, Henry M. Watts, Minister to Australia. Besides these, there went out from under the teachings of Dr. Moody a long line of notable men to the medical profession, to the bar, to the bench, to the public civil service, and to honored lives in every various business avocation. Time will not permit even to name them individually: Judge James C. Moodey, Samuel Wherry (my honored father, who died in his prime). Andrew Denny Rodgers, the Pomeroyes, the Coxes, the Irwins, the McKinneys, the Sturgeons, the McPhersons, the Snodgrasses, the Criswells, the McCunes, the Hayeses, the McClellands, the Culbertsons, the Nevins, the Wallaces. What have they not done? Into what county or State or territory has not some one of them gone? Who can measure the mighty influences set in motion when that little Scotch-Irish germ was planted on the banks of the Middle Spring one hundred and seventy-one years ago?

GERMAN LIFE AND THOUGHT IN A SCOTCH- IRISH SETTLEMENT.

BY LINN HARBAUGH, ESQ.

IN the very recent investigations of Alexander Del Mar, a scholarly American, as set forth in his work entitled "Ancient Britain," the supposed German origin of the English people is very ably refuted. This disposition of the old-time Teutonic theory ought to lend additional interest to the events that cluster around the advent of German life and thought in a Scotch-Irish settlement; for under Del Mar's view this was the coming together of two peoples of the earth who had perhaps never before commingled, save in so far as the German element entered into the province of Ulster centuries ago.

Early in the eighties of the last century a group of young men—mere boys perhaps they were—stood together upon the belfry of the college building at Mercersburg. They beheld to the westward a spur of North Mountain, curving around like a sheltering arm from Mt. Parnell on the north to Two-Top on the south. In the foreground lay a broad expanse of rolling farm land, cut in twain by the glistening turnpike which loses itself in the windings of Cove Gap. Turning to the east, away in the dim distance, they observed the apparent completion of that great mountainous circle. Then one of these young men found voice to exclaim: "This old building, and not the Statehouse in Boston, is the hub of the solar system; and beyond yonder circle of eternal hills there is nothing worth while!" These mountains around about the place have existed some millions of years farther back in the world's history than we shall attempt to go in the course of this present inquiry. The little village in the forefront of the picture had a more recent origin, however, but it was not always known by the name "Mercersburg."

The outward data of this settlement have long since been rescued and put in form to be preserved by several gifted historians of Franklin County, and the record compares favorably with that of most inland towns of Pennsylvania. But the historian is yet to come who will attempt a study of the spirit that pervaded this community and the life of the people as it unfolded in the several historic periods; and if true to his trust, he will

treat not of the bickerings and strife of village gossips and malcontents, such as are common to every community, but rather of the triumphs of peace, the rewards of industry, and the supremacy of the intellectual activities—some of which things are peculiar to Mercersburg, and strikingly so.

Looking back in the light of the twentieth century, the settlement might be considered in four well-defined historical epochs, each one crowded with events that have been of great influence to its successor, and all of them harmonizing in one gradual unfolding to the more perfect day of the present era: (1) It was a colonial Scotch-Irish settlement from 1736 to 1786; (2) a mountain village on the great highway of commerce from 1786 to 1836; (3) an Anglo-German university town from 1836 to 1880; and (4) the new Mercersburg, the Rugby of America, from 1880 to 1901.

To consider these epochs hurriedly, by compiling the great store of material already gathered by faithful historians, would be an easy labor and of little credit to any one attempting it. To treat briefly of a portion of one period mentioned, with some regard to the sequence and philosophy of history, is the more difficult task which the writer has set before him; and this, too, without much confidence of a successful outcome, "since," to use the words of the great Chancellor Blackstone, "he freely confesses that his former more private attempts have fallen very short of his own ideas of perfection."

Scotch-Irish settlers blazed a pathway through the Cumberland Valley as far as the mountain barriers early in the decade between 1730 and 1740, and it can scarcely be doubted that James Black and his companions were attracted to this particular spot near the mountain gap no less on account of its healthful and picturesque character than by reason of the more practical prospect of a good water power for the mill. James Black built his mill early in the thirties on the little mountain stream which flows by the northern boundary of Mercersburg, and it soon became a gathering place for the settlers around about, who would exchange ideas to their common interests, interspersing their more serious discussions with stories of the Indians and wild animals while they waited their turn for the grist.

The Upper West Conococheague Presbyterian Church was established in 1738, but the church building was located several miles east of the present Mercersburg, and its membership in-

cluded people from all that territory now known as Welsh Run, Fort Loudon, and St. Thomas, so that this does not indicate that there was much of a settlement as yet at Black's Town.

While there were some German settlers along the border line of Maryland, in the southeastern portion of the Conococheague settlement, Black's Town remained for many years purely Scotch-Irish. The Rev. Michael Schlatter, a missionary of the German Reformed Church, made a tour through the Valley in May, 1748, but he followed the bridle path to the southeast, and did not touch within ten or fifteen miles of the place which was destined to become one hundred years later a center of German religious life and thought.

But like Zinzendorf among the Moravians, and Muhlenberg of the Lutheran Church, Schlatter ministered into these scattered and discouraged Swiss Protestants and made it possible for them to organize their congregations and to preserve their religious worship against the time of the coming of their own school of the prophets.

In his journal, under date of May 9, 1748, this heroic missionary records some interesting facts about this locality. "Here in this region," he writes, "are very fruitful fields for grain and pasture. They produce Turkish (Indian) corn almost without any manure, among which are stocks ten feet long, and the grass is exceedingly fine. In the neighborhood there are still many Indians who are well disposed and very obliging, and are not disinclined toward Christians when they are not made drunk by strong drink."

"It seems now a pity," writes Dr. Theodore Appel, "that he did not go higher up the Indian stream, and with his own feet consecrate the soil on which the fruits of his labor long afterwards appeared."

The meager records of this early day are strained by time, and the ancient landmarks have fallen into decay. These forefathers, their children, and their children's children are gone. Whatever history of their toils and achievements yet remains ungathered "is beginning to swim in half uncertain twilight," and soon the time will come "when records and traditions will no more recognize one another."

"If tradition be correct," says the *Mercersburg Visitor* of October 25, 1844, "even in the olden time Mercersburg was a place of much importance. The red man from distant backwoods ven-

tured thus far to exchange the fruits of his labor for the commodities of the settlers. For many years it formed the frontier or boundary line between the native and the emigrant, and was extensively known as one of the most important marts in the country."

That Black's Town became the center of great commercial activity, and continued so for more than one hundred years after its founding, is something more than a tradition. Cove Gap furnished a natural outlet to the west, and it was no unusual thing, to see large numbers of pack horses—from fifty to one hundred, the historian says—standing about the mill and tavern, loaded with salt, iron, and other commodities to be transported over the mountains to the Indians and first settlers of the Monongahela country. And in the other direction, so great was the necessity for an opening to the markets of the East that among the first roads authorized by the courts of Cumberland County was one opened on petition of citizens of Peters township. Flour being the chief commodity which "their township produceth, and having two mills in said township, John McDowell's and William Smith's," they asked that a road be laid out for them. The road as authorized was to be restricted to bridle paths from each mill to a point several miles east, whence it was to proceed the nearest and best way to Baltimore.

James Black and his fellow-settlers had the virgin forest to draw upon for building material, and it was the custom of these pioneers to build their cabins of selected lumber, all nicely hewn, and built in a substantial manner. History and tradition are not altogether wanting as to the frontier life of women and children. Sometimes we wonder that they were not bereft of their tenderness and grace of manner amid the surroundings of a rugged life like this. Ample evidence, however, is present, as it has always been in every condition and generation of the world, of the domestic happiness and the virtue and purity of these frontier homes. James Buchanan, who was born at Cove Gap in 1791, gives this little glimpse of his mother: "The daughter of a country farmer, engaged in household employment from early life until after my father's death, she yet found time to read much and reflect on what she read. She had a great fondness for poetry, and could read with ease all the passages of her favorite authors which struck her fancy. . . . I have often, during the vacations at school or college, sat in the room with

her, and whilst she was (entirely from her own choice) busily engaged in homely domestic employments have spent hours instructively and pleasantly conversing with her."

School life in colonial times is depicted in the sad history of Enoch Brown and his scholars, who fell victims to the murderous Indians. No doubt many little girls and boys of Black's town—or Smithstown, as it was then—profited under the instructions and birch rod of Master John Rodgers, who taught school there as early as 1786.

Within the bounds of the Conococheague settlement occurred this pathetic incident, as related in a letter written in 1733 by James Magraw to his brother at Harris's Ferry: "Hugh Rippy's daughter Mary [was] berried yesterday. This will be sad news to Andrew Simpson when it reaches McGuire's bridge. He was to come over in the fall, when they were to be married. Mary was a very purty gerl. She died of a faver, and they berried her up on the rising ground north of the road."

Little touches of life and home feeling, such as the foregoing, might be multiplied to a limit beyond the purposes of this paper. Something further might be added, if necessary, to show that the nurseries of true American patriotism were then, as they still are, the mothers and homes of America. The true school of valor and chivalry of our young men has ever been the fire-side, and not the firing line.

In 1750 William Smith succeeded to the proprietorship of the settlement, and until 1765 traffic steadily increased. Mr. Smith was one of "His Majesty's Justices of the Peace," and was also a government official of larger powers. He was appointed to inspect freight that might pass westward, so as to defeat unscrupulous persons in their attempts to furnish Indians with warlike materials. One of his documents reads in part as follows: "Permit the bearer, Thomas McCammis, to pass to Fort Bedford with nine kegs of rum, eight kegs of wine, one keg of spirits, one keg of molasses, three kegs of brown sugar," etc., "provided always that this permit shall not extend to carry any warlike stores or any article not herein mentioned."

It may be open to question whether or not warlike materials passed by this consignment, in the light that Mr. Schlatter's assertion that the Indians "are well-disposed and very obliging, and are not disinclined toward Christians when they are not made drunk by strong drink."

Under the name of Squire Smith's town the settlement continued to flourish, and the Squire, together with his neighbors, enjoyed the comparative peace and prosperity which were in a large measure due to his energy and abilities as a man of practical affairs. Before the close of the revolutionary war Squire Smith had been gathered unto his people. He had two sons, Robert and William, Jr., and a daughter, Mary. William Smith, Jr., seems to have inherited the practical traits of his father, and in the year 1786 he laid out a town with the plan of three streets running north and south, and a like number east and west. The original plot is said to be in existence still, though it is time-stained and blurred to such an extent as to make it almost impossible to decipher the names of the lot holders.

In honor of Gen. Hugh Mercer, of revolutionary fame, the town was named, though its founder lived but a short time after this event. The date of the plot is March 17, 1786, and his death occurred in April following. It seems rather remarkable that his last will and testament should contain a corruption of Gen. Mercer's name, especially in view of the fact that it is probably the first time the name of the town was recorded in a public way.

William Smith's executors were authorized and empowered "to act and do all manner of things respecting a new town lately layed out by me and called messers Burg." All of his worldly estate was left to his wife, Margaret, and to his little daughter, Sally Smith, and "a commodious house of midling size" was to be erected for them. At the close of the colonial period, therefore, Sally Smith, a little girl less than fourteen years of age, was the daughter of the settlement, and joint heiress with her mother of all Mercersburg.

This mountain village on the highway of commerce from 1786 to 1836 must be passed by with the recital of but a few facts. The era of turnpikes and stages is familiar to us all, and the habits of life and custom which these conveniences of travel developed were becoming common in the new republic. For about seventy years this settlement had flourished, and had been the theater of great commercial activity, social life, and religious devotion, without that great public institution, a post office. Communications of all kinds were conveyed by private enterprise, or in many cases by the mere courtesy of a chance traveler. In 1788 Congress authorized a through mail route between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, by way of Chambers town and Bedford;

but not until fifteen years later, January 1, 1803, did Mercersburg enjoy the privileges of a post office, with James Bahn as the first official.

With the dawn of the new century families began to appear who are still represented by their descendants in the community. The town itself took on the appearance of a dignified and substantial place of abode. The streets were improved; brick dwellings, some of them rather imposing in design, appeared to take the place of the log houses of prerevolutionary times. Men were coming to the front with character and influence, which soon extended to the State legislative halls, to the executive mansion, to the national Congress, and to the White House.

Such then, in brief, was the settlement of the Scotchmen for one hundred years, until the German students' invasion of 1835.

Our forefathers of the German Reformed communion in this country were ministered unto by men of learning. While it is true that for many years the pioneer Germans were deprived of spiritual instruction and consolation because of the scarcity of regularly ordained pastors, they nevertheless cherished their pious faith as a blessed heritage from the fatherland, and have handed it down from generation to generation of their people; and this too in the face of the fact that men were at hand in that day, as they are in this, with motives purely mercenary, who played upon the religious credulity of these people, and practiced gross deceptions in the name of the Church.

The assertion that the early ministers were men of education does not rest alone upon the authority of the oft-quoted letter written in 1730 by the Rev. Jedediah Andrews, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1695. He relates that a Palatinate candidate of the ministry had applied to the Scotch Synod for ordination, and "he proved to be an extraordinary person for sense and learning." We gave him a question to discuss about justification, and he answered it in a whole sheet of paper in a very notable manner."

Schlatter may be mentioned again, in this connection, as one who received his education in the midst of the literary and religious influences of St. Gaul, Switzerland, a community so widely celebrated for its parochial schools and gymnasium.

Still nearer home live the Rev. Cyriacus Spangenberg von Reidemeister, who in 1786 became the first pastor of the Reformed Church near Waynesboro. His talents were of a high

order. He kept his Church records in German, Latin, or English, as occasion seemed to require, with equal readiness. He composed prayers for public services and for family worship after the solemn, devotional spirit of the ancient liturgies. He has left many specimens of his work, which are written in a clear, beautiful hand. Beyond his eminence as a scholar, he possessed that deftness of touch and skill with the pen which would have made him famous in the engraver's art, or wealthy, and perhaps notorious, as a counterfeiter.

From 1725 to 1792 one hundred and ten pastors of the Reformed Church are known to have served in America. Sixty-one of these were university-educated men, and all of them were grounded in the German systems of theological thought.

In view of the high standard of education maintained by these early missionaries, it is not surprising to find German-Americans looking forward anxiously to the time when they could have their own school of the prophets. At a meeting of the Reformed Church Synod at Bedford, Pa., in 1824, a final proposition for the establishment of a theological seminary was under discussion. Upon a vote being taken for or against it, a tie was the result; whereupon the venerable Dr. William Hendel, himself a graduate of Columbia College, arose as president of the Synod, and said, "Ich stimme fuer das seminarium," and from that hour the school was an assured fact. The Church at the time was torn by dissensions and diversity of opinion, and the new school in its humble beginnings had great trials. There were stout hearts, however, to work for its success, and the movement was not without encouragement from abroad. The Synod of Holland contributed four hundred dollars. The king of Prussia gave two hundred rix dollars, and much generous aid was extended from the centers of learning in Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. The total result was a library of about five thousand volumes, many of them valuable books, and over six thousand dollars in money.

This institution was conducted under many difficulties and with varying success at several places within the bounds of the Synod, until the founding of Marshall College in 1835, when it found a more permanent home, together with the college, among the Scotch-Irish of the Cumberland Valley.

Dr. Frederick A. Rauch, who had been banished from Germany for political reasons, attracted the attention of the Germans while he was teaching music and the languages and in-

cidentally learning to speak English at Easton, Pa. He was a man of great learning, and at the age of twenty-four years had been accorded the high honor of a full professorship in the famous university of Heidelberg, Germany. He became identified with the seminary while it was located at York, Pa., and in 1835 was chosen first president of Marshall College, an institution which received its charter from the Pennsylvania Legislature in March, 1836, together with an appropriation of \$12,000.

With a president of such profound scholarship, and bearing the name of Chief Justice Marshall, who had then lately closed his illustrious career, Marshall College opened its doors under bright skies. The liberal offer of the citizens of Mercersburg of ten thousand dollars in cash made to the Synod at Chambersburg in 1835 was gratefully accepted; and the high school, the forerunner of Marshall College, was promptly removed from York, Pa., in the autumn of 1835.

An eyewitness of the event has said: "Their arrival made quite a sensation in the village. Every attention was paid to the strangers, and care was exercised to provide them with suitable boarding places. . . . The two teachers who came on with the students were Dr. Rauch and his faithful Achates, Prof. Budd. They were both scholarly looking men, young as yet, but with lines of thought and study already on their faces—both looking out upon the world through gold (rimmed) spectacles."

In the old stone schoolhouse at the rear of the Presbyterian Church a temporary hall of learning was found. But the building committee was already at work providing better accommodations, and on August 17, 1836, the corner stone of the large building, as it now stands, was laid. Thus it was that two teachers with eighteen young men, followed by others a little later, peacefully invaded the mountain village with their high school belongings to found a college. Here began the influence of German life in a Scotch-Irish community. And while other elements have come in to modify the character of the original settlers—such, for instance, as the arrival of German farmers from the East, and some foreign Germans about the middle of the last century—yet it may safely be said that the prevailing influence and the source of Mercersburg's world-wide fame are to be found in this educational movement of the Germans.

The terms "college" and "seminary" are to some extent interchangeable in the treatment of this theme, The courses of study

were sometimes interwoven by students whose time and means were limited. The words "institution" and "university" are perhaps pardonable, or at least ought not to be considered pretentious in this connection. With little endowment for either college or seminary, and with the question of language still unsolved, it could not be expected that the faculty of either department of learning would be maintained with its full complement of instructors. Students who did not have the ministry in view were sometimes disposed to complain, saying that the lectures in the college course were sermons.

While various attempts were made to perpetuate the German language in America, and to found institutions of learning on that basis, yet it is remarkable under all the circumstances how soon the idea was abandoned by what is now the Reformed Church in the United States. In 1826 a young minister was publicly rebuked by the president of the synod for attempting to make an address in the English language. And yet, fourteen years later a Scotchman, Dr. John W. Nevin, was chosen a colleague of Dr. Rauch at Mercersburg. He was one of the first American theologians to be quoted in Germany, a man of whom it was said by a learned critic: "I know of no writer who excels him in the use of forcible English, as some of his polemical articles abundantly testify." John Henry Newman resembled him in the purity and force of his language, but Dr. Nevin added to it the more mystical depth that comes from the German mind.

Few of us are ready to blame the Germans for clinging to the language of the fatherland. It was the one thing besides their religion that they could bring with them to the new world, and it is safe to say that they never contemplated, in the departure from the land of their birth, the merging of their lives and customs in a nation with a common language not their own.

It is equally clear that the Scotch-Irish, who had maintained their language along with their homes, their own system of education and religion and their commercial life, could not for a moment entertain the thought of adopting the German or any other new language as their own.

This then suggests the problem that had not been fully met by the German-Americans, the question of language; and it was solved early in the history of educational life at Mercersburg. Here was the point of confluence from which the German and English life and thought have flown on together; not the one

absorbing the other, but the commingling of both, in the process of which, and in the logic of events, the English language survives as the fittest medium of expression.

Dr. Rauch remained president of Marshall College, as well as the guiding spirit of the theological seminary, until his lamented death, in March, 1841. The people of Mercersburg appreciated his presence amongst them. They quickly saw in his gentle bearing and refined nature a man who could enlist the sympathies and affections of a nationality not of his own people. His love of music and intimate knowledge of the German composers gave them a new insight into the beauties of the profound and inspiring anthems of the German masters. They of the practical life were pleased not only with his learning and piety, but also with his ability to grasp the practical ideas of life. "The fortune of our lives," said he, "and our government depends not exclusively on useful knowledge, but on our character as citizens; and to form this character by cultivating the whole man is the aim of education in the proper sense."

Dr. Rauch admired the sturdy character and aggressiveness of the people amongst whom he had come to dwell. He was stimulated by their good hard common sense, and encouraged by the eager manner in which they rallied to the support of the institutions which he was there to represent. He was much gratified at the readiness with which they were prepared to join hands with the sponsors of the college in the cause of higher education.

Around about Dr. Rauch and his assistants in college and seminary from 1836 to 1841 were gathered many young men. Most of them were sons of German-Americans. In 1840 they numbered about one hundred and thirty. Many of them found temporary homes among the townspeople. They joined in the social life of the community, shared in their gayety, and disputed with them seriously upon the religious views which they maintained in accordance with the strict Presbyterian tenets of faith.

While the Covenanters of the little brick church down in the village devoted themselves on the Sabbath day solemnly to the worship of God, the German students up on the hill were gathered in the chapel or wandering through the woods and fields, preaching and learning of God and his wonderful works. The former sung their praises to Him, led only by the human voice; the latter praised the Lord upon the harp, and showed them-

selves joyful before the Lord, "with trumpets also and with shawms."

There were good performers upon such instruments as the flute, clarionet, and violin. Dr. Rauch himself was a skillful pianist. On one occasion, as though in protest against the inroads of the German musicians, there came a strolling Scotchman with his bagpipe. He was dressed in his provincial costume, and his picturesque presence, together with the old, familiar music of the Scotch airs, delighted townsmen and gowmsmen alike with the memories of Burns and Bannockburn.

In his early work Dr. Rauch had great difficulty with the English language, and he was extremely sensitive on the subject. "His thoughts," it is said, "were like so many caged birds, which he wished to let out, but the crowd was too great to get out in good order."

In the brief time allotted him, Dr. Rauch, like many Germans of university education, aimed to produce a system of philosophy, and the result of his studies appears in a number of works on abstruse subjects—notably, his "Psychology and Christian Ethics," which attracted the attention of eminent scholars in Europe and America. His lectures in the institutions are the basis of much of the learning now in use. "It is very certain," writes Dr. Nevin, "that the soul and genius of the man, his ideal presence, we may say, wrought powerfully in the character of the institution during the whole period of its continuance in Mercersburg. His ideas went largely to form the reigning tone of the institutions, and also to determine their general direction. . . . Had he lived a few years longer, he would have lifted the village of Mercersburg, with the college, into the view of the whole land." It was so lifted by those to whose hands the unfinished work of Rauch was committed, and in this the Scotch-Irish mind of Nevin had no meager part.

It is indeed to the singular introduction of this scholar of Presbyterian ancestry into the institutions of pronounced German mold that we owe the successful outcome of the language problem. When he finally decided to accept the professorship, in 1840, he passed unreservedly over to the Reformed Church, and, in doing so, he said: "My own training might appear to have been providentially ordered by Him who leadeth the blind in a way not understood by themselves, with special reference to this very destination. Though not a German by birth, I feel



a sort of kindred interest in that people which could hardly be stronger were I one of themselves. My childhood and youth were spent in close, familiar communication with German manners and modes of thought. In later life my attention has been turned to their language and literature. These have awakened in me a new interest in their favor and brought me into more extensive fellowship with the peculiarities of the national mind."

Dr. Nevin unconsciously defined his own important position in the general educational movement when, in speaking of Dr. Rauch, he said: "He knew that a simple transfer of German thought into English forms of expression was not what the interests of learning required in this country, but that it is only by being reproduced in new creations by a mind transfused with their inward power, and the same time at home in the American element of thought, that they can be expected to become truly and permanently valuable."

All the "Life and Works" and literature of Dr. Nevin, voluminous as they are, do not contain so homely yet so pregnant a characterization of the man as that given by his negro friend and philosopher, Arnold Brooks. "The two-storied doctor," he said, accompanying his observation with a significant tapping of the frontal bone with his forefinger, throwing out the suggestion that, besides the lower floor of the intellectual home of most men, Dr. Nevin possessed an additional chamber above, in which the mystical Presence dwelt and labored.

It was not intended that Dr. Rauch's place should remain vacant if Germany could send another man. This man came forward in the person of Philip Schaff, whom many eminent theologians of Germany united in commending to our people.

The limit of time on this occasion will not permit us to be heard as to Dr. Schaff's enthusiastic reception at Mercersburg, nor as to his "Principle of Protestantism," the inaugural address which brought upon himself and Dr. Nevin an arraignment, trial, and acquittal for heresy, nor yet of the twenty years of his life devoted to the institutions at Mercersburg. All these things, and much more about Marshall College, the Collegiate Institute, Mercersburg College, the important work of Dr. Aughinbaugh, an old Marshall graduate, who virtually saved the institutions to the Church, and, finally, the "New Mercersburg," must await the critical historian who will appear in the fullness of time.



In 1863 Dr. Schaff, as though in exchange for Dr. Nevin, who had come from the bosom of Presbyterianism to the Reformed Church, passed over to the Presbyterian communion, and as Professor of Church History in Union Theological Seminary became a scholar of international renown. There amid high honors and great labors he did not forget his early experiences in the little Anglo-German seminary at Mercersburg.

As a master of German and English in the great metropolis, he must have recalled with some degree of amusement the snares and pitfalls which he encountered in his early struggles with the English language during the twenty years at what was facetiously called "the little Dutch college out somewhere along the mountains;" how he on more than one occasion prayed that "our souls might be whitewashed," meaning, of course, "washed white," until it was explained to him that the expression was unfortunate because of the peculiar application it had in the current political literature of our country; and how also in his lectures to the young theologians he fell foul of an apparently harmless word in drawing upon the physical world to illustrate the difference between the Old and the New Testaments: "The Old Testament is the night," he said, "the New Testament is the day; the Old Testament is the dawn, the New is the morning; the New Testament is the bright sunlight, the Old is all moonshine."

For many years Nevin and Schaff and many other eminent men labored together at Mercersburg, each in his own peculiar way wielding a free lance and enjoying academic freedom without let or hindrance. But for reasons already stated, we may not at this time go beyond the portals of Marshall College, and all its associations and achievements, all its history and literature, all its eminent scholars and their great scope of learning, are for the present to be passed by. But is it not an idle prophesy to declare that in the near future the great memorial chapel contemplated by the present Head Master, Dr. William Mann Irvine, shall arise on the campus in all the beauty and grace of modern architecture, and that beneath these classic shades Dr. Irvine may be greeted as the German students greeted Dr. Schaff, by a chorus of six hundred American boys, with the salutation, "*Vivat Professor!*" to which will come the happy response, as it did from Dr. Schaff sixty years ago: "*Vivant Studiosi!*"

WHEN I WAS A BOY, AND A LITTLE TIME BEFORE (1830 to 1850).

BY JAMES P. MATTHEWS.

SIXTY years ago the descendants of the original settlers in this valley constituted a considerable portion of its inhabitants. They were the ruling element in society, in politics, and in the general conduct of affairs. They held most of the local offices, monopolized the learned professions, and asserted a sort of hereditary right to leadership in all public enterprises. The process of "benevolent assimilation" (from which we are expecting great results in these latter days) had been in progress for two generations, but in 1840 there was still a line of demarcation between the two races which held joint possession. The peculiar characteristics of Scot and Teuton could be traced in form and features, in domestic habits, in modes of speech and thought, in religious observances, and more than all in a certain indefinable cult that belonged to its own side of the line.

The thrift of the German farmer had made him master of much of the soil, and he had already laid the foundation of his future dominion in his numerous family; but the people whom he was gradually supplanting still held up their heads and conveyed away their lands with an air of gracious condescension. Darwin's law of the survival of the fittest had not yet been formulated. The remnant of the Scots, depleted by migration to the West and by frequent intermarriages with the land-buying invaders, has almost lost its identity; and it requires some occasion like this to bring together any considerable number of scions of the old stock who can boast of unmixed descent.

I shall not trespass upon the ground assigned to other gleaners in the historic field, and take up the story of the settlement of this valley, and the part played by the sons of the pioneers in the struggle for independence. The period of adventure and daring, and noble self-sacrifice, which in our local annals we proudly call "the heroic age," ended fully fifty years before I was born. The tree of liberty had borne its golden fruit; peace and

prosperity had come to stay; the wilderness had been subdued; and all the region between the North and South Mountains, from the Susquehanna to the Potomac, had been divided into farms, which were well improved and well cultivated. There has not been any material subdivision of farms within my recollection; the individual holdings were not much larger in 1840 than now, the average tract being probably about one hundred and fifty acres.

There have, however, been very considerable changes in the physical features of the country. The virgin freshness has gone with the oak and hickory forests, which in my youth covered about one-fourth of the area of the valley; excluding, of course, the densely wooded foothills of the two mountains. Whether the country boy went to school or to church; whether he was sent to the nearest mill with the weekly grist, or to the blacksmith shop with blunted plow points, a considerable part of the trip was made through the woods. Our Scotch-Irish grandfathers and great-grandfathers, looking to the comfort and happiness of future generations, reserved about twenty-five acres out of every hundred of the native forest for fence rails, shingles, and firewood. It never occurred to them that there could be any other fuel for domestic use, in this valley, than that which came from the forests. They may have heard some vague stories about coal cropping out along the banks of the Monongahela River, or of deposits of a strange mineral resembling coal in the Upper Schuylkill Valley; but the transportation system, which has brought the product of the bituminous and anthracite coal mines into every house in the Cumberland Valley, was as remote from their conception of the possible as is the dream of communication with the planet Mars to their descendants of the twentieth century. As late as 1850 there were prudent old men in the neighborhood in which I was reared who, fearing that their children or their children's children might some day suffer for want of fuel to warm their houses and cook their food, would not permit a tree to be cut down in their woodland reservations unless it had attained its full growth and was beginning to show signs of decay at the top. Although we have no apprehension of the exhaustion of the coal deposits in our day, yet at some day in the remote future it may be shown that our fathers were wiser than their children.

In recalling the picturesque features of this valley when I was a boy, the green spots that stand out freshest in my memory were the "brakes." On every farm, and in some localities in every field, there were little rocky knobs or knolls which the plowman did not care to cross, and instead of going straight over he found it easier to turn the plow on the edge of the share and drive his team around. Nature, as if rejoicing in her immunity from invasion, lavished her richest gifts on these rock-bound spots. A splendid tree was always the dominating object; sometimes a magnificent walnut; more frequently a shapely sassafras or a towering ash, trees rarely seen in the forests. In the summer barefooted children loved to play in the shade of these trees and explore the very inmost recesses of the brier patches and locust thickets that environed them on every side. In June and July the children's mouths and sunburned cheeks were stained with the juice of wild strawberries and dewberries, sweeter than the nectar distilled on Mt. Olympus; and in August and September blackberries, grown and ripened in the shade, were gathered in tin cups and rimless straw hats, and eaten without sugar or cream.

From April to September the robins, bluebirds, thrushes, and many other families of feathered songsters, held high carnival in the "brakes." They were the native-born gardeners, who, with a rare faculty for selection, brought the seeds of the best fruits to these summer retreats, and planted them, as it were, for their own delectation. I have never elsewhere seen nor tasted such cherries as grew upon what were called "volunteer" trees in the "brakes," and it was a fact well known to all country boys that the birds got the best of them.

It was the Teuton, not the Scot, who disestablished these free concert gardens. Regardless of the hereditary rights of the birds, forgetful of the tired laborers who were wont to throw themselves on the green sod for a brief respite from toil, indifferent to the harvesters, who always managed to have the way opened to the "brake" by the time the "ten o'clock piece" was due, the practical German farmer cut down the trees, dug up the berry-bearing briars by the roots, blasted the rocks with powder, and burned the fragments into lime, and gave the plow and grain drill, and reaper and binder, free course across the field. He added considerably to the area of arable land and somewhat in-

creased the aggregate production, but he destroyed a whole volume of the poetry of country life.

The original apple orchards, planted by our forefathers, were still standing when I was a boy. The young trees had been brought from Chester County by the early settlers. Some of them must have been nearly a hundred years old when I first beheld them. Compared with the low, spreading, short-lived apple trees of these days, whose drooping branches are not strong enough to bear their burden of fruit, they were stately monarchs. It took a very long ladder to reach the best-bearing limbs. The fact may be disputed, but, relying upon my own recollection rather than upon any large information, I will risk the assertion that the apples which grew on these giant trees were larger, sounder, more beautiful in shape and color, and more delicious in every way than the best products of our modern orchards. The cherry trees planted in the eighteenth century also grew to enormous size. They generally stood along the roads, and were free to the public. Some people are under the impression that the planting of peach orchards along the South Mountain twenty-five years ago was the beginning of peach culture in this valley. When I was a boy there were peach trees in the "brakes," in the gardens, in the back yards, and along the lanes, compared to which the largest trees in the South Mountain orchards are but insignificant dwarfs. They were strong, healthy, prolific, and long-lived, which cannot be said of the peach tree of these days. I have seen peach trees with trunks not less than two feet in girth.

One of the chief characteristics of the men among whom I passed my boyhood was their prodigious capacity for hard work. It would have delighted the combative and energetic young soldier and statesman who is now Vice President of the United States to have seen the farmers, farm laborers, and mechanics of this valley at their daily toil sixty years ago. His conception of "the strenuous life" would have been greatly enlarged by the contemplation of the whole body of laborers intent upon finishing the task in hand in the shortest time, and in the best possible manner. There was rivalry among the young men as to who could do the most, and the ambition to excel, even in the simplest employments, often led to angry disputes, and occasionally

to vicious blows. I have some recollection of a homicide (committed, I believe, within the limits of this county), the only provocation on the part of the victim being the assertion that he could mow faster than his fellow-scytheman could walk. The response to this challenge was a thrust with the scythe, with fatal effect.

The sickle had been superseded by the cradle before my time, but the old reapers were still numerous, and when they met in the barrooms of the country taverns were much given to wrangling over former trials of strength, pluck, and skill in the harvest field. Even the men who threshed out rye with the flail were boastful of the number of sheaves disposed of in a day.

It must be borne in mind that with the single exception of chopping cord wood and splitting rails there was not much piece work done on the farms, or even in the shops, at that time. Laborers (unless hired by the month) were paid by the day—fifty cents a day—and if they worked an hour, or even two hours over time, there was no extra compensation. In fact, there was no fixed number of hours, either by statute or custom, in a working day. The employer himself often led the field and set the pace, and the number of working hours depended very much on his powers of endurance. Most of the agricultural work was done with a few simple implements; the myriads of labor-saving and time-saving machines that now perform all manner of agricultural operations had not yet been invented. Much of the work that is now done by horses and in some cases by steam, in 1840, and even twenty years later, was done by men and boys.

For this tremendous expenditure of strength and vital force the pay was exceedingly small. An able-bodied hired man received from six to eight dollars a month during ten months of the year, and during the two months of severe winter very often got nothing but his board. While the actual cutting of the harvest was in progress, say for six or eight days, he was put on an equality with the other hands—that is, if he was a cradler, he got a dollar a day; and if he took up half the swath after a cradle, he got sixty-two and one-half cents. About 1849 the pay of cradlers was raised to one dollar and twenty-five cents a day, and that of the other harvesters to seventy-five cents.

As I have already intimated, there were professional wood-

choppers (mighty men with the ax) who were paid by the cord—twenty-five cents a cord; each chopper ranking his own output. There was considerable rivalry among these expert ax-men, but it consisted mainly in the art of "edging up," so as to make a cord with the fewest possible number of sticks. The common law of the wood lots, as I have often heard it expounded, was that if the spaces between the sticks were merely large enough to permit the hunted rabbit to go through, the cord would pass, but if they permitted the pursuing dog to follow, there was cause for complaint.

In the mechanic arts the wages paid to journeymen and helpers was not greatly in excess of the rates that obtained on the farms. I had a near relative who was a skilled blacksmith, a most conscientious and faithful workman, who frequently put in twelve and even fourteen hours a day at the bellows and anvil. While a journeyman, boarding with his employer, he was paid ten dollars a month; after he married and set up a home for himself, he was paid twelve dollars a month. This was probably a little more than the average journeyman blacksmith earned at that time. The carpenters fared a little better, but not much better, than the blacksmiths. In this trade a prodigious amount of work was done by the apprentice boys. They were indentured for three years, and got no pay except their boarding and clothing until their term of service expired, when they received fifty dollars in money and sometimes a new suit of clothes in which to make their first appearance as free American citizens. During their apprenticeship they were practically members of the master's family, and were subject to the family discipline, including reasonable correction. This was the status of the apprentice boy in all the trades.

The primary school of the carpenter's apprentice was in the woods. He was put to chopping down big trees, squaring the stump ends and cutting the logs into proper lengths with the cross-cut saw, and then hewing them into square beams. After he had learned to hew to the line with the broadax, he was permitted to take up lighter tools. Wood-working machinery had not yet come into general use, and all the planing, jointing, boring, and mortising was done by hand. The heaviest moldings were laboriously wrought out with O G planes and common

gouges and chisels. The apprentice boy made an early acquaintance with flooring boards. To rip them from the rough boards that came from the sawmill, plane them out of twist, gauge them and bring them down to uniform thickness, joint them, and make the tongues and grooves was generally the first bench work of the carpenter's apprentice. The boys who, in these days stand beside the machine and adjust the gauges and oil the bearings, while the swiftly revolving wheels and knives turn out a finished flooring board every two minutes, have but faint conception of the labor performed by apprentice boys sixty years ago.

In these days, especially during presidential campaigns, we hear a great deal about the exactions of capital and the oppression of labor; but those of us who remember the hard work and the small pay

In the rude but good old times

cannot believe that the tendency of the age is in the direction of a feudalism that would restrict the rights and limit the opportunities of the laboring classes. The slender lad who acts as messenger in a commercial establishment and spends a good part of the time in pursuing his own pleasure gets nearly twice as much pay as did the strong-armed, laborious blacksmith of sixty years ago; while in all the trades the apprentice boys earn more than did the skilled journeymen of that period. We all know that life was simpler then, and that the masses of the people had fewer wants and were content with plainer things; but as a matter of fact most of those things that are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of a family, the indispensable things of civilized life, cost more in 1840 than they do now. Meats, both fresh and cured, butter and eggs, and house rents were cheaper. The price of flour, corn meal, and potatoes has not materially changed, while clothing, shoes, sugar, and coffee, furniture, hardware, and nearly all the articles necessary for housekeeping were far higher then than now. The young people of the new century who talk so glibly about the arrogance of wealth, and who pretend that they are apprehensive of becoming serfs, know absolutely nothing of the toil, the hard economies, and the continual self-denial that enabled their grandparents to live respectably and store up something for their descendants. In my youth nothing was so cheap as human muscle, and in the years that have inter-

vened no other commodity has made more substantial and enduring advance in price.

Outside of agriculture, the only important industry in the part of the valley with which I was most familiar was the manufacture of pig iron. In the first half of the present century there was a chain of charcoal furnaces along the base of South Mountain, the one end resting on Antietam Creek, some six or eight miles from its junction with the Potomac, the other on the Yellow Breeches, about the same distance from the Susquehanna. Four of these furnaces—namely, the Big Pond, the Mary Ann, the Augusta, and Wharton's—were within easy reach of my home, the nearest being about three miles and the farthest six miles distant. There were extensive deposits of hematite ore along the base of the South Mountain, quite near to each of these furnaces, and the foothills of the mountain were still covered with trees, mostly pine, which were cut down and converted into charcoal. The mountain ore had an undesirable quality which the furnace men call "coal-short," and, in order to make good, tough iron, it was necessary to mix this ore in certain proportions with the very valuable pipe ore, which is found in small veins or nests in various sections of the limestone belt of this valley. Some of these deposits of pipe ore were ten or twelve miles from the furnaces. The most obtrusive feature of the iron industry was the six-mule team. The wagon, with enormous wheels and small, clay-stained bed, drawn by three spans of powerful mules, was encountered on every road, and always had the right of way. Nobody cared to touch hubs with the furnace wagons.

If I were to offer a prize to the young person in this assembly who would name the town in the middle section of the valley that was the center of the local iron trade in 1845, I should scarcely expect to get the correct answer at the first trial. I have never looked up the history of Roxbury, nor do I know the name of the bold pioneer who founded the Roxbury forge; but it was in active operation long before my time, and most of the pig iron that was made at the furnaces which I have named was hauled clear across the valley, a distance of eighteen miles, to be beaten into merchantable bars and plates. The road from Shippenburg to Roxbury is a succession of steep grades, and it was tough work for six mules to take two tons of the raw product of the furnaces to the forge, and bring back a like weight of

manufactured iron. Prior to 1852 it never occurred to the iron-masters that the long haul to the North Mountain might be avoided by locating a forge at the foot of the South Mountain. In that year a forge was erected at the Big Pond furnace, and, the Augusta, Mary Ann, and Wharton furnaces having gone out of blast, Roxbury forthwith began to decline as a commercial center.

Money was scarce in those days, and the proprietors of the forge were obliged to take their pay in iron, and dispose of it as best they could. The furnace men were generally in debt to the farmers and storekeepers, and these creditors were glad to take iron in payment, because there was always a reasonable apprehension that they might get nothing else. Iron bars, rods, plates, and wagon tires performed the function of currency; a rather bulky, ponderous currency, but reasonably stable, possessing intrinsic value, and not liable to lose through abrasion, as is the case with the softer metals. The stock of iron that accumulated at Roxbury was traded to the farmers, mechanics, and storekeepers, and they used it in paying debts. Dr. Alexander Stewart, whose field of practice was coextensive with the field of the Roxbury iron trade on both sides of the mountain, would sometimes get more of this heavy currency in payment for professional services than he cared to handle. When quite a small boy I happened to be present when he was making a trade with a blacksmith on the south side of the valley, which involved the transportation of a small lot of iron some fifteen or sixteen miles. The deal seemed to be off for the moment, and the Doctor, when about to leave, remarked consolingly that the iron wouldn't wear out. "No, it won't wear out, but it will rust out," was the blacksmith's retort. "That is very true," observed the Doctor, "but it will take a long time."

The warehouse receipt, which greatly facilitates business in these days, was unknown, or at least unused, in this valley in 1840. The purchase of iron or any other commodity involved the delivery and acceptance of the goods. There were no syndicates or great corporations to control the iron industry, limit production to the demand, hold up the market, and close superfluous establishments. All the furnaces in the Cumberland Valley were owned and operated either by single proprietors or small firms

composed of two or three partners. Competition was free, active, and untrammelled. There was no overcapitalization, no watering of stocks, no fictitious dividends. Business went on in the simplest and most natural way, but invariably went to ruin.

The history of the manufacture of pig iron in the Cumberland Valley is the history of a long series of financial wrecks, inflicting heavy loss upon a large number of innocent people; the unfortunate creditors being, for the most part, laborers whose wages were in arrears, farmers who furnished supplies and occasionally loaned money, and good-natured men of means who indorsed notes that went to protest. All the conditions were, apparently, most favorable for individual enterprise, but the disastrous experience of a half century proved to the entire satisfaction of our fathers and grandfathers that the manufacture of iron, even in its simplest forms, required larger capital than any one man was at that time able to furnish.

Passing over the everyday life of our immediate ancestors, their domestic habits and social enjoyments, a most attractive topic, but far too large to be dealt with in this paper, I shall briefly allude to their intense religious convictions. As all of their descendants have good reason to know, their theology was that of the Shorter Catechism, and their perfect familiarity with this compendium of divine truth gave them an immense advantage over their adversaries when the foundations of their faith were assailed. The wave of liberalism that swept over New England in the first quarter of the past century, and split the Congregational Church in twain, made no impression on the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of the Cumberland Valley. They held to the old standards with steady persistence, yielding only one point, which I shall mention hereafter.

It may surprise some of the young people in this audience to be told that the Shorter Catechism was taught in the public schools in this valley when I was a boy. I do not mean that it was a regular text-book, but in the township school that I attended the children of Presbyterian parents were assigned a certain number of questions, as a "task" to be recited on Monday morning, and thus the whole one hundred and seven questions of the Catechism were committed to memory in weekly installments. I believe this to have been the practice in all Presbyte-

rian communities. The doctrines laid down in the Shorter Catechism were regarded as so essential to the temporal and eternal welfare of the child that the authority of the parent (which was still quite potential) was supplemented with the authority of the schoolmaster (sufficiently cogent in those days) to compel more diligent study and to insure a more perfect knowledge of the "chief end of man."

The first book put into the hands of the Presbyterian infant was the New England Primer. It contained the alphabet, followed by a progressive series of spelling lessons, leading up to the finely illustrated poem, which proclaims a fundamental principle of the Calvinistic theology in its first couplet:

"In Adam's fall
We sinned all."

There were two other poems—namely, Dr. Watts's celebrated cradle hymn, and the pathetic lines composed by John Rogers for the consolation of his children. All of this was merely introductory to the Shorter Catechism, which fills fourteen pages of the primer.

I have never yet met a New England man who knew anything of this little book. It had become obsolete in the land of its original publication, while it was still a living, vital force in the Cumberland Valley, molding opinion, forming character, and, as we hope, building up God's kingdom. Much of the text has been forgotten, but its saving truths are still cherished in the Scotch-Irish heart.

I shall close this paper with a brief reference to a controversy which culminated in the expulsion of a large body of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians by a very small body of Scotch "seceders" from a Church in which they had worshiped together for forty-nine years. I was only three years old when this occurred, so that I am not relating my own personal recollections. Among the immigrants to this valley there was a fair sprinkling of Presbyterians, who were members of what was called the "Secession" Church, a body that had gone out from the Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1733. They were generally called "Seceders," although after their union with another body of dissenting Presbyterians the official name became "The Associate Reformed Church." In 1794 the "Seceders" residing in

Shippensburg and vicinity determined to build a church. In this project they were encouraged by a large number of Presbyterians who belonged to the Middle Spring congregation, but were desirous of having a place of worship nearer to their own homes. Accordingly a petition was sent to Edward and Joseph Shippen (the heirs of the Penn proprietors), in whom the title to the unsold lots in Shippensburg had vested, praying for the grant of a certain designated lot, on which to erect a church. The Shippens gave the lot, but in naming the grantees they used a phrase which fifty years later practically destroyed the grant and made the gift of no effect. The property was conveyed to John Means and Robert McCall, trustees for the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Congregation. The grantors were evidently contemplating the two branches of the Presbyterian family that had united in asking for the lot. The church was built and occupied by the joint congregation for many years in perfect peace. From 1794 to 1823 the pastor was Rev. James Walker, a "Seceder." In 1823 the church was greatly enlarged, and Rev. Henry Wilson, a Presbyterian, was installed as pastor. As the congregation grew the "Seceder" element was gradually absorbed, until in 1838 there were probably not half a dozen families left who were not regular Presbyterians. About this time the Presbyterians in the United States surrendered to the pious English poets of the eighteenth century. They began to sing the hymns composed by Watts and Cowper and Toplady and Charles Wesley; first in the privacy of their own homes, next in their weekly prayer meetings, and finally at the regular Sunday services. The little remnant of "Seceders" in the Shippensburg Church protested in vain, and then appealed to Cæsar. They found one man in the congregation, John Means (a son of one of the original trustees), competent to be a plaintiff, and they borrowed another from Chambersburg (Henry Carlyle), and brought a suit in ejectment. The court below, looking at the equities of the case, had no difficulty in directing the jury to find for the defendants. The learned Scotch-Irish judge supplied the little word "and" which he supposed the Shippens had inadvertently left out when they wrote the deed, and the name of the grantee thus amended became the Associate Reformed *and* Presbyterian Congregation. Now, as all lawyers know, it is a very dan-

gerous thing to read a conjunction or a preposition into a written instrument, and when the case came before the Supreme Court that learned tribunal very promptly knocked the "and" out of the name of the grantee, and left it stand as the Shippens had written it, "The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Congregation." Having thus disposed of the misplaced conjunction, the court held that the word "Presbyterian," as it stood in the deed, was simply an adjective descriptive of the Associate Reformed ecclesiastical body; it held to the Presbyterian standards, and was a branch of the Presbyterian family. It followed as a matter of course that if the word "Presbyterian" in the name of the grantee was an adjective, it could not be a substantive and stand for a congregation, or a corporation, capable of taking a grant. Thus it was decided that the Shippens had given everything to the "Associate Reformed" and nothing to the Presbyterians.

It was a barren victory for the "Seceders," for, after having ousted the Presbyterians, they had no congregation to occupy the property. There was no money to support a pastor and no person to listen to his preaching. The building stood unoccupied for many years. About 1850 it began to be used for secular purposes—town meetings, concerts, school exhibitions, and the like; subsequently it was divided into four rooms in which the primary schools of the town were located. In later years it was further secularized by the establishing of a small manufacturing plant in one of the rooms, and finally an accidental fire destroyed the whole interior structure. A portion of the east wall is still standing, a melancholy monument to the obstinacy of the race from which we sprung.

But perhaps obstinacy as applied to this little episode of 1843 is too strong a word. The half dozen earnest men and women who held out for Rouse's version of the Psalms, as against the eighteenth century hymns, were contending for what they supposed to be a sacred principle. The two plaintiffs in the ejectment case, who seem to be almost grotesque in their loneliness, as we view them from the standpoint of our times, were zealous, God-fearing men, who were trying to preserve the dignity and solemnity of divine worship and the ancient practices and traditions of the historic Presbyterian Church.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH CONQUEST.

BY ROBERT CABEEN BAIR, OF YORK, PA.

COULD this splendid audience for one swift moment refresh its eyes with a wide, sweeping glance and view of the bold and rugged outlines and characteristics of bonnie Scotland, and too the stern and remarkable features of North Ireland, then would pass before your vision and blend by powerful effect of associated scenes the ancient feudal glory there, and the strange, new conditions here, one hundred and fifty years ago, on this side of the Atlantic. On barren hills and wind-swept plateaus of Pennsylvania brawny Scotch and Irish settlers have put the stamp of their Celtic individuality.

The genealogy of the Irishman is as mysterious as it is uncertain. That he is descended from a royal tribe of warriors, his race habits prove. That he had for ancestor a valiant Hebrew captain, seems sure, else his moods of mind, his language and traditions, are false. The ancient Irish coat of arms, three crowns, is believed to represent the kingly ornaments of David, Solomon, and Rehoboam. The famous harp of Zera (Tara), tradition says, resounds the entrancing notes of the great shepherd king. The Scotchman was, in a long-forgotten past, an emigrant from Ireland. His racial blood is an admixture of Celt and Teuton. That he is at once the most ardent, energetic, irrepressible, and contrary, though all the while devoted and most easily governed by justice, is the established and unchangeable testimony of every nation in which he abides and where law and reason reign.

The Scotch-Irishman, who was he? He was the product of an accident; the exponent of predestined power in citizenship in every land where home, country, and God is the standard of society. Without his influence Pennsylvania could have developed, but truly he has shaped the strength of her constitution in the mold of his own muscular independence of mind. Let us examine the accident that produced this remarkable race.

The lowlands of West Scotland and the county of Cumberland, England, had been and were continually in border strife; it was a

plundering and desolating warfare. James Darnley was king over one; Elizabeth was queen over the other. The clan Graham dwelt on the Scottish side; the Armstrongs, on the English side. They were alike in habits, accent, and customs; their forefathers were blood relatives.

The very night Queen Elizabeth died the Grahams, aware that James Darnley, the sixth James of Scotland, would soon be king over England, made a fierce incursion into Cumberland as far as Penrith. The Armstrongs met and horribly repulsed them there. The remnant was swept back into the glens and woody fastnesses from which they had rushed down like a torrent, as spray and mist flies before a whirlwind. The Grahams were prostrate and scattered, their bows and arrows shattered, their lofty defiance broken to abject humiliation, and they cried out to their king, now James I., of England, for succor. James (now four years king), long aware of the tumultuous warring of these unconquerable clans, knowing that no disaster could extinguish their spirit, and discerning that they would yet put the north of his kingdom in even greater uproar than in times past, saw his opportunity to silence them forever. Crushed and defeated as these Scotchmen were, he caused them to confess to this singular indictment, "That they were unfit persons to dwell in the country which they inhabited," and asked them to pray him "to remove them elsewhere, where his paternal goodness should assign them subsistence." The whole clan, consisting of many families (a few individuals excepted), were thus deprived of their homes and lands and deported out of the country. These events transpired before the planting of the London company in North Ireland at Londonderry.

Five counties in the great province of Ulster, Ireland, were vacant. In them James gave abode to the exported Scotchmen, and the county of Cumberland was taxed for their transportation. In the archives of old Cumberland is hid somewhere a list of every one of these expatriated people. Scotch-Irishmen of America, these were your ancestors. Creatures of calamitous accident, in the hand of Almighty God to become prepotent in the destiny of unborn millions. Under new conditions in Ireland their struggle for a homestead was intensely overburdened. For twenty-five years they braved hardships of every kind. With

Christian fortitude they opposed royal oppression with one arm and held off the wild Irish with the other. At this time religious fury inflamed Protestantism and Catholicism in both Scotland and Ireland. By and by Oliver Cromwell fell with sword and fire upon Ireland. He drove thousands of Irish to Europe, and shipped other thousands to the West Indies. The void thus made in Ireland was quickly filled by numerous colonists of Saxon and Scotch blood, of Calvinistic faith. These were the Covenanters. Ireland thenceforth was ground under heavy heel and governed by an iron rule. In spite of it, the conquered country began to wear, outwardly at least, the face of prosperity. But she bore a heavy heart. Districts which had before been as wild as those the settler would find west of the Susquehanna were in a few years transformed into the semblance of old communities.

Seventy years followed. They were slow and cruel years of mental anguish for the weak, and unutterable physical hardship for the strong. Taxes devoured the substance of the land, and misgovernment consumed the masses. The dreadful extremities of Enniskillen and Londonderry were upon them. The warm and curative hand of the German William had not been able to either heal or soothe the aching wounds his Catholic father-in-law, James II., had inflicted. Not even the cleansing victory at the Boyne Water had or could alleviate their political and domestic sufferings. The leaders, their ministers, encouraged them from the "Goode Booke" with the assurance that "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth;" but they little guessed how wonderful results could or would flow out of the bitter pool of their adversities.

In their distress, as their grandfathers before them, they cried to God their King to carry them away elsewhere where his paternal goodness would assign them peace and subsistence.

A place was already prepared for them. They knew it. William Penn's letters were with them. Penn himself had been among them in the year 1711. They were ready and willing to go to Pennsylvania. In the last year of his life the great Quaker saw the organized Protestant migration begin to move out of North Ireland toward his sylvan province. There was but one avenue by which they could go, escaping turbulent and gloomy surroundings, and that one the dangerous highway of ocean.

The gate of the west was Belfast and Londonderry; through them they pressed in unnumbered hosts. Their deliverers, the winds of heaven, caught them up; the forbidding waves of the Atlantic bore them away, far off to new homes in an unknown wilderness.

For one hundred and nine years they had endured all the tests by which love of liberty, allegiance to conscience, and faith in God try men. And thus, coming to the soil of Pennsylvania were self-reliant men and women, equipped and ready to bear those mighty responsibilities which ever befall the progenitors of Christian freemen. The Scotch-Irish never doubted the final vindication of that marvelous continuing prophecy which was the peculiar reliance of their faithful fathers. Their sires had taught that in every extraordinary enterprise and overtaxing trial "the crooked places would be made straight." For the Scotch-Irish in America the crooked places were made straight, mountains were laid low, valleys were filled, and the rough places made smooth. Not that the crooked was less tortuous to them; but impulse of unswerving purpose even hurled them straightforward. Not that the mountains were leveled for them; but courage of tremendous convictions propelled them over all obstacles. Not that the valleys of their vicissitudes were less depressed; but an exultant elevation of soul carried them from summit to summit by sheer force of enthusiasm. And as for the rough places, they were shod for them, and in any race, sure-footed and fleet, they outdistanced where others blundered and fell.

From 1717 to 1750 they poured into the highland fastnesses of Pennsylvania. The march of advancing civilization ever moves with strong men in front. Thus it was the Scotch and Irish ever first assailed the farthest verge of dangerous frontiers. Men of Scotia and Erin, when pioneer invasion forced the Indians to retreat, always led the skirmish line of settlement. Being subjects of Great Britain, the oath of allegiance was not required of them. For this cause the lamented fact that we have no lists of Scotch or Irish emigrants is explained.

Landing at Philadelphia, or New Castle, they at once plunged into the vast solitudes with the same abandon hunters traverse well-accustomed paths within the woods.

Ten years prior to their arrival on the Delaware a colony of Swiss Mennonites had settled lands in the upper valleys of the Conestoga and Pequa. As early as 1703 (the time of Penn's second visit to Philadelphia) agents of the Mennonites had made the purchase from him. To this colony also gathered many Mennonites who prior to 1700 had temporarily settled in New York, the Hampshire Grants, New Jersey, and the more eastern parts of Pennsylvania. The possessions of these pioneer Germans lay directly across the course the Scotch-Irish would take going into the remoter backwoods. The German plantations nestled within that lovely landscape beheld from the hills which divide Chester and Lancaster Counties. The Gap, the El Paso of the early emigrants, through which now roll the thunders of modern railway traffic, was then as now the highgate by which the main road of passage ran to the distant vales of the Susquehanna. Here was the point at which, when the Scotch-Irish came to it, the pathway to their eventual settlements bifurcated; here the place at which the emigrants decided, so to speak, that, the one part having already gone to the right hand, the other would go to the left.

The Mennonite occupied the foregrounds, the most fertile and joyous gardens in the land. When the Scotch-Irish came in sight of these they loftily passed them by. They were not like Ireland; besides, they felt a real contempt for that unobtrusive, nonresistant, slow-plodding Sweitzerman, while in turn the placid Mennonite in secret heart believed the boasting Scotsman to be both haughty and sinful. Thus met, the ridiculous "feather bed Dutchman" saw with delight the unpleasant "straw tick Irishman" pass on with determined tread to the barren lands southward and westward of him.

The first or right hand branch moved on up to Donegal, and founded Derry Church, in memory of old Londonderry, from whence most of them had come. The other branch took the south path, and, coming to the head streams of the Octoraro Creek, staked out at their halting place the foundations of old Pequa and Octoraro Churches. These were not the only permanent locations by any means, but as from the settlements in Sadsbury, Bart, Little Britain, Colerain, Drumore, Martic, and Donegal came to York and Cumberland Counties the principal

Trans-Susquehanna migration, we fix our view upon Lower Lancaster, Upper Lancaster, and Dauphin Counties, and seventy-five per cent of the descendants of the Scotch-Irish in York, Adams, Cumberland, and Franklin Counties must keep it fixed there if they would trace the primitive footpaths by which their forefathers came.

Westward, opposite the Donegal settlement of 1720-1722, the virgin valley of the Conodogwinet came down by the winding Keckachtannin hills to the Susquehanna. It was a beautiful and tempting prospect, and though they had sacred associations around them and had left behind them as perpetual markers of their pilgrimage sons and daughters, ancestors for proud posterity, in Warwick, Rapho, Conoy, Mount Joy, Derry, Londonderry, Paxtang, Conewago, and Swatara, by the year 1736 they were ready again to assume the risks and trials of pushing their homes into the untamed Indian land, and begin the conquest of the Cumberland Valley.

In the year 1732 across the Susquehanna westward from the Octoraro settlement lay the stormy plateau land of what is now Lower York County, comprised in the townships Chanceford, Lower Chanceford, Fawn, Peach Bottom, and that part of Shrewsbury afterwards called Hopewell. These were the ancient "Barrens," the unoccupied parts of the province. The rapid Otter Creek drained the north side, the larger Muddy Creek drained the south side; both streams the product of a thousand hills that pour, never failing, the sweet crystal liquor of their rocks into great white oak shaded springs.

The Penns had purchased the Keckachtannin Valley. They held peaceable possession there, but the "Land in Solitude" (as Maryland called the Barrens) was in threatening dispute between the Calverts and the Quaker proprietors. Contentions respecting the territorial boundary had for many years been carried on between Joppa and Philadelphia by discreet letters and agents; but as soon as the Scotch-Irish set foot in Lower Hellam (as the Penns called it) instantly courtesy and diplomacy gave place to emphasis and ozone. When the Scotch-Irishman got in there, he at once set about giving exhibitions of his determination to stay there. He had a way all his own in handling obstacles. He swept everything before him, clearing, as was his habit, by fire

what he could not pull up by the roots. If a log opposed him, too big to haul or roll out of his field, he plowed around it. When some wide-spreading monarch of the woods was too imposing for his ax, and blight was in its shade for his buckwheat or flax, he simply "girdled" him, that was all, and this policy as a conqueror he carried victoriously into every theological controversy and political combat.

But, dear kinsfolk of early home seekers, before we bring our hardy settlers west of the Susquehanna to clan upon these unoccupied slopes of ours, we will halt them at the main ferries—Peach Bottom, Stevenson's (now McCall's), Newberry (above McCall's, long abandoned), Burkholder's Ferry, and Reed's (now Shenk's) Ferry—while we note other acts, the earliest mentioned, which were performed by Scotchmen on the ground of York County.

To John Grist and a certain Capt. Beaver belongs the historic distinction of being the first white settlers in Pennsylvania in the unbroken forests west of the Susquehanna. They are both supposed to have come from the north part of Lancaster County, where the Scotch and Irish had located. The first draft of land surveyed in York County contains their names. Both Grist and Beaver dwelt near an Indian village at a place not far from the town of Wrightsville. The old draft of Gov. Keith's Newberry tract shows the wigwams or cabins along the river.

The Scotch-Irish were surveyors, and found ready employment in the early days when on every hand land-surveying engaged everybody's attention. Newberry tract was the first survey in York County. It was made by two Scotchmen, John Taylor and James Steel. On the 10th day of April, 1722, they carried over the Susquehanna (near Columbia) the chain and compass that laid the lines and measured the boundaries of Newberry.

This tract contained two thousand acres. The survey was made April 10 and 11, 1722. "Beginning," as the survey states, "opposite the Shawnee town (Columbia) and a little below the settlement made by John Grist and Capt. Beaver, called White Oak Branch (Grist's Creek), and running up the same by its courses and distances southwest 1,050 perches to a white oak standing on a bank by a small meadow near said branch (about

Stoner's Station). From thence by a northwest line 900 perches to a corner marked white oak standing in the woods near the head of a branch which runs into the Susquehanna. This corner is on the small stream that crosses the road leading from Wrightsville to Grubb's ore bank in Hellam township, some distance south of the latter point. From thence down said branch 320 perches to the riverside opposite the lower part of James Letort's plantation. Thence 1,500 perches by river bank to place of beginning." I repeat that before this survey, west of the Susquehanna, there had been none. Scotchmen participated in the second earliest survey, that of the original Springetsbury Manor. This is not the manor located as we know it, but an older one by forty-six years. John French, Francis Whorle, and James Mitchel left the Indian village of Conestoga, near what is now Safe Harbor, Lancaster County, on the morning of June 19, 1722, and began the survey of Springetsbury Manor "opposite the mouth of Conestoga Creek at a run called Penn's Run (Lockport Run, in Chanceford Township), and ran thence southwest by west ten miles to French's Creek, a stream dividing Hopewell and Windsor, and flowing into Muddy Creek near Felton; thence northwest by north twelve miles to a point in Manchester Township north of York; thence northeast by east eight miles to uppermost corner tree of Gov. Keith's Newberry tract; thence along the southeast and northeast lines of said Newberry tract into the Susquehanna again, and from thence along the riverside to the place of beginning, containing 75,500 acres according to a plan thereof hereto annexed. Signed at Newberry, June 21, 1722."

The surveys thus minutely described are historically interesting and valuable, not alone because they were the first, but for the reason that their location had been forgotten and for more than one hundred and fifty years totally lost. This audience is among the first to receive notice that the long-unknown boundaries have been relocated and traced as they were laid down by Scotch engineers in 1722. It would be entertaining, no doubt, to further follow the details of these remarkable surveys and inquire what grew out of them, but there is only time to state regarding Springetsbury Manor, that the original plan and purpose of its survey proved to Penn's heirs, as the best-laid plans

often do, unprofitable. In 1722, when it was first surveyed, the region west of Susquehanna and included in it was vacant. Springetsbury was a scheme of Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, and James Logan, headed by Sir William Keith (all Scotchmen), to outwit Maryland, pacify the Indians, and as agents for the proprietaries secure what seemed to them the likeliest lands for settlement. Forty-six years passed by. In the meantime the course of German occupation had followed the fertile limestone valley in the northern part of the manor. The southern half of Springetsbury, poor, stony, and hilly, was left unoccupied and unnoticed. The land seemed worthless; it was worthless; besides, the section was in bitter dispute with Maryland. For this cause largely the belligerent Scotch and Irish pushed into it. Altogether, the lower half of Springetsbury was undesirable, unprofitable, and disappointing to the Penns. With these facts plainly before the land office, an Irishman, Gov. James Hamilton, resolved in 1762 to perpetrate what might be called a land grab of magnitude in York County. For some years it had been hinted that the Springetsbury draft "had by accident or design (?) been mislaid, lost, or never returned to the land office," and in this way time after time the German settlers in the valley were gently and by degrees prepared for the resurvey of the manor. The Scotch-Irish in Lower Springetsbury were poor. The proprietaries knew it. They were given more to religion, politics, and affairs of public interest than to developing lands by agriculture. To be sure they scratched the ground, and scraped and skimmed and planned, but they never tickled the fields to make them laugh and bloom as the Germans did.

The German was on richer soil, but he was not envied in that by the men who in other ways in less-favored places applied their heads and hearts to nation-building. The German loved his farm lands; but the Scotch-Irish would rather cut a "big road" connecting points remote, would rather set a schoolhouse in some lonesome hollow, than unfold the loveliest expanding valley in Penn's domain.

By the year 1768 the Germans had changed the whole face of the Grist's Creek and Codorus Valleys. They had built Yorktown, and it had become a notable center. West of town fine lands lay across the great road leading to interior settlements.

This, in short, was the rich valley Gov. Hamilton wanted, and with quick Irish wit and energy promptly set out to take it. Thus, by surveying the second Springetsbury tract, he actually carved out the vital part of York County in the right of, not to say cupidity of, the unworldly Quaker.

The thing was neatly done, because the German believed whatever he was told by the authorities. Had such an attempt been put on foot where the Scotch-Irish dwelt, a cyclonic onslaught, an upset outfit, a deranged compass, and battered heads would have terminated the survey. The Governor had tried on one occasion to survey the manor of masque after the Scotch-Irish were located at Marsh Creek, but the surveyors were driven off by force. The German always said of himself that he had weaknesses, but nothing pleased him more than that there was no Scotch-Irish in his veins. If these people respected each other, it was because they dwelt apart. At York, Carlisle, and Chambersburg Nicholas Bittenger and John Stuart always got along very well together because where they chose to dwell there was a wide wilderness between them.

Among the early surveyors, Thomas Cookson, George Stevenson, Thomas Armor, Archibald McClean, William Matthews, and William Kersey will ever head the list. In fact, the conspicuous surveyors in the founding of York County were Scotch-Irish. The mechanical instrument to which the descendants of this people should build a permanent memorial in their public parks is the surveyor's staff and compass. There is not a homestead acre anywhere that the chain and needle did not define and measure. A Scotch-Irish coat of arms might well expose the surveyor's compass and a schoolmaster's rod in bold relief. These were the tools with which they laid down the foundations of our great commonwealth.

Having now completed the earliest surveys, having put the German into Grist's Creek Valley (1732-1736), we will return to our Scotch-Irish pioneers on the Susquehanna. The year is 1740; Scotch-Irish are said to have been on the "Barrens" as early as 1732, but there is no record to show just where they were or who they were. Samuel Blunston, Penn's agent at Columbia, wrote in 1732: "There are about four hundred inhabitants in the 'Barrens.'" Some of these were Marylanders. A singular

fact is noticeable in the oldest drafts and surveys of lands on the "Barrens." They indicate a prior right in some other man, but the land warrants under Penn are silent on this point. So that it would seem the former occupant had acknowledged Lord Baltimore. The oldest warrant under the Penns yet found bears date, "October 16, 1741, to Daniel McConnell, on Indian Rock Run, by Widow McMurray's, near Muddy Creek, over Susquehanna." On part of this tract, the John Scott part, there was erected the first Presbyterian church of Muddy Creek congregation. James and Samuel Hinly are the earliest known ministers to have preached there. Their services ended prior to August, 1749. The elders in this congregation were Roland Hughes, David and James Smith. Jedediah Alexander, the original owner of Slate Hill Tract, provided in his will (1749) for the partial support of any minister "who will take up ye pastoral charge of ye same." In 1750 Rev. Eleazer Whittlesey, of Massachusetts Bay colony, came into charge of the Muddy Creek congregation, and from it almost immediately sprang Chanceford and Slate Hill Churches.

As an example of the squatter system, which furnished the only title many of the early Scotch-Irish had, the fact is pointed out that Churches squatted as did the squatter inhabitants of the "Muddy Creek congregation." Chanceford Church was founded by Eleazer Whittlesey March 1, 1752, but never had a title to its land until May 25, 1767, when James Leeper, John Findley, Rowland Hughes, Ephraim Farr, and William Morrison, as trustees, secured a grant for four acres from John Penn.

Guinston, Scotch Presbyterian Church, founded in 1754, has the same squatter record. In the year 1750 Patrick McGee settled on a tract which he called "Gwin's Town." On March 1, 1755, James Cooper took up an adjoining tract which he called "Hopewell," and on which tract a new log church had been erected. The church had no title to the land on which it stood, nor had Cooper until twelve years thereafter, May 20, 1767, when a warrant was issued to him at Philadelphia. Guinston never took title from Pennsylvania, and in order to put the matter forever at rest "James Cooper by a certain deed poll bearing date April 23, 1773, did grant and convey unto the trustees—Thomas Curry, James Wallace, Gain Allison, Andrew Fulton, Alexander

Moore, John McClurg, John McNeary, George Campbell, John McCay, and John Stewart—two acres on which the old Scotch meetinghouse stood.”

During the period, 1765 to 1772, Rev. John Cuthbertson was actively developing and organizing a Covenanter, afterwards an Associate Presbyterian, congregation, which was by him named the Log Church. In 1772 Daniel Sinclair and William Gebby were made elders, the earliest recorded officials of the Log congregation.

But to return to the settlers by the Susquehanna, it is not possible to name all the Scotch-Irish who came into the lower end of York County, but many can be enumerated and the approximate time indicated at which they crossed over from Lancaster County.

Among the families located in Chanceford prior to 1750 were Hugh Ross, John McCall, William McCarthy, John Campbell, William, George, and John Buchanan, Robert Morton, Robert Smith, John Howard, William Smart, James Anderson, William Douglass, William Wilson, William Thompson, Thomas Carson, Edward McMachon, Joseph Wasson, Finley Gray, Nathaniel and David Morgan, Patrick McGee, William McComb, Gain Allison, John McNeary, David McKinley (ancestor of the President) and John and Stephen McKinley, John Findley, William Morrison, John Mitchell, Elias Alexander, David Jones, William Fullerton, Henry Robinson, John Matthews, James Evans, Francis Houlton, Rowland Hughes, Robert Whitley, John Nelson, Alexander Fulton, Lawrence McNamara, and Charles Coulston.

Those arriving before 1770, as follows: John Andrew, William Adams, Charles Bradshaw, Robert Blaine, Ezekiel Barnett, George Grist, Elias Cowan, William Dougherty, John Dougherty, Alexander Downing, James Duncan, James Elder, John Fullerton, James Forsythe, William Gabby, James Hamilton, John Hill, Charles Humes, John Hooper, Robert Hooper, George Henry, Thomas Johnston, Matthew Kilgore, Thomas Kelley, Walter Little, Dr. Isaac Lidley, John McMullin, Alex McAlister, John McDowell, Richard McNulty, William Marlin, John Marlin, John Morrow, James Martin, John McCullough, Henry McWhorer, John McClurg, John McNulty, Robert Marlin, Robert Maughlin, William Nichol, Samuel Nelson, Samuel Parker,

Samuel Poak, James Porter, James Patterson, Nicholas Quigley, Thomas Ramsay, John Reed, Joseph Reed, William Reed, James Spear, Daniel Sinclair, Charles Stewart, John Stewart, Gavin Scott, James Sprout, Robert Shaw, Allen Scott, William Steel, Moses Wallace, Thomas Wilson.

The Scotch-Irish in Fawn Township prior to 1770 were: William Adams, Thomas Allen, James Buchanan, James Blair, William Blaine, Henry Cowgel, William Clark, Benjamin Cunyngnam, Archibald Cooper, John Carson, Richard Cord, Patrick Caldwell, John Day, Robert Duncan, Robert Donnal, George Elder, Samuel Eakins, Alexander Ewing, Robert Gibson, James Gordon, Jacob Gibson, Robert Hazlet, Samuel Leeper, John McComb, Thomas Matson, William McKinley, James McKinley, Matthew McCall, Alexander McCandless, James McMullin, Edward Manifold, John McComb, William McConnell, Thomas Neel, George Nichol, John Payne, George Payne, James Parker, Robert Rowland, Joseph Ross, James Reed, Patrick Scott, William Reed, Cunningham Sample, Thomas Steel, John Taylor, John Wilson, William Wallace, Archibald Whight, Robert Modral.

The Scotch-Irish in Hopewell Township prior to 1770: Gain Allison, John Anderson, James Anderson, Robert Aikens, Andrew Boyd, Alexander Creighton, Henry Craig, James Criswell, John Duncan, Samuel Dixon, Samuel Ellit, William Edie, William Edgar, Andrew Findley, Archibald Gillen, William Gemmill, John Gemmill, John Gibson, William Giffen, Samuel Harper, Robert Jamison, William Ligget, James Mitchell, Joseph Manifold, James McKissock, James McElroy, John McCleary, John Maxwell, James Maffet, Richard McDonald, Thomas McKee, John McAlister, Hugh Nelson, Archibald Purdy, Alex Ramsay, Thomas Ray, David Stone, Andrew Thompson, Elconer Torbett, William Vance, James Wallace, John Wilson, James Wilson, William Wilson.

I have expanded the list (though all are not included) of the early people in the section named, because they have left landmarks in the place of their settlement that will never perish as long as the influences of their ancient Churches and their multiplying children uphold on the old homesteads the principles and faith of their great-great-grandfathers. From these old

seats of settlement project footpaths to the wider world north, south, and west. The main direction is plain by which they went, as it was this migration that put the Scotch-Irish stamp on at least five States. The first movement was toward the southwest, which halted at Marsh Creek, in Adams County. The other routes diverged; one led into North Carolina, the Mecklenberg settlement being the destination of Robert Stewart, George Farr, the Alexanders, Jamisons, Barnetts, Wilsons, Davidsons, Polks. Of the signers of the famous Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1755, John McKnitt Alexander, Richard Barry, Hezekiah Alexander, Zaccheus Wilson, Sr., and John Davidson are specially mentioned as being from Pennsylvania. The thrilling speech of Patrick Henry was made before some of our own patriots who had gone south to join that part of their family which had selected the Carolinas before they had left Ireland.

While those of our Scotch-Irish were going south, some of those from Carolina and Virginia were coming to us. The second division of our migrators to go into the Southland followed the old Wilderness Road, into West Carolina, now Tennessee.

It would be interesting to know (since Chambersburg is Phoenix to a Southern torch) if any among her incendiaries that dismal day unwittingly kindled fires of cruel conflagration on the ancient hearthstones of his Scotch-Irish sire.

The branch moving north passed into the Genesee Valley, New York. I feel safe in asserting that many Ohio Scotch-Irish must look for their ancestors in York and Cumberland Counties by way of the country around Rochester. Particularly is this true of those whose settlements in Ohio were made along the shore of Lake Erie.

The main stem of migration went generally into Western Pennsylvania, at that time designated Westmoreland, and from all these a converging set of lines touching in Central Ohio. Wherever the Scotch-Irish went they laid firm foundations for State government.

There always seemed to be a close bond between the Scotch-Irish of Baltimore (now Harford) County, Md., those of New York State, and those of York County. Rev. John Cuthbertson,

one of the most noted Presbyterian preachers the early history of the Church, had in Lancaster and York County, would make from Octoraro and the Log church in Chanceford trips to Walkill, Ulster County, New York, where he would preach for three or four weeks at a time. His journeys led him to visit and preach among those who had left the east and gone as far west as Pittsburg. The diary of this remarkable preacher is carefully preserved in the Allegheny city library, and contains an inexhaustible store of historic facts and reminiscences incident to early Church life in Pennsylvania, and particularly of early York County.

Reference has been made to Rev. John Cuthbertson, of Octoraro, and founder of the Log Church. The honor is accorded a truly good man in this devout presence, and made a part of the record to-day, that the influence of this untiring and dauntless preacher affected more Presbyterians as to family relationship among the settlers of Cumberland, Adams, Lancaster, and York than that of any other man of his time. A copy of the diary of this ambassador extraordinary, covering thirty-nine years of incessant and overtaxing labor—1750 to 1790—is open before me. Truly it illuminates a wonderful life of abnegation and sweet beauty of soul. It diffuses a light over early Church history in the localities named, which, when focused upon the conquest he made in the name of Jesus Christ, must shine and forever brighten as it shines.

John Cuthbertson, after forty-six days at sea from Derry Lough, North Ireland, arrived at New Castle, Del., August 5, 1751. He died at Middle Octoraro in 1790, aged seventy-three years. He was closely identified as counselor and minister with the Churches of Cumberland and Franklin Counties. His friends among the several Churches were Revs. Matthew Lind, ——— Dobbins, James Lang, John Craighead, John Steel, John McKnight, and William Speer. Mr. Speer, however, did not come to Chambersburg until after the death of John Cuthbertson.

Within three weeks after his arrival John Cuthbertson on horseback rode from Octoraro by way of Paxtang and Derry into the Kechtachtannin Valley, visiting Widow Junkins Tent, Big Spring, Rocky Spring Tent, Conegocheague, Great Cove,

and other points, returning to Middle Octoraro via Marsh Creek (Gettysburg), York, and Lancaster. On his second horseback trip through Cumberland Valley, in October and November, 1751, among the Churches and private families of that section, he returned via Marsh Creek and Chambers Tavern, York, to "Eleazer Whittlesey's house," which is now Chanceford Church. He visited in Cumberland Valley "Walter Buchannon, upon the side of Conedogwinet Creek," "Andrew Ralston near the Great Spring," "Robert McConnell in Big Cove," "Benjamin Blackburn of Opicken Meetinghouse," "James Mitchel near Hackettstown," George Mitchel, Rocky Spring, Joseph Patterson, Andrew Stuart, Joseph McMechan, Adam McConnel, George Reynold, Andrew Leeper. The Gebby, Finley, Spear, Fullerton, Laird, Reed, Scouler, Young, and other families were well known to him.

These all, or nearly all of them, had relatives in Bart and Chanceford. The intense interest attaching to the relationship existing throughout our country, in widely separated communities, is the chief inspiration by which the American Scotch-Irish and German societies are impelled to their work. The enterprise must go steadily forward. Though it be a mite, let every man who has a fact be not miserly with it, but broadly generous. Thus history will be made, and families with ancestors forgotten or lost will have restored unto them their own. To him who delves the genealogic and historic past the impressive discovery comes that only names associated with lofty principles and acts, possession of property, last wills and testaments, Church and Bible records most surely endure. Is this by natural law, or rather, like the epitaph of John Cuthbertson's grave at Middle Octoraro, prophecy fulfilled: "The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance?"

In the year 1755, when King George transported the French Acadians from Nova Scotia, the provincial assembly of Pennsylvania voted sixty thousand pounds for the purpose of distributing the poor Acadians among the people of the several counties. When debarked at Philadelphia they were assigned (according to population) to the different townships. The Germans received their quota, but it seems that the Scotch-Irish either did not receive or else would not accept any of the Nova Scotians.

What was the cause of this is not clear. It is probable that the spirit of liberty among the Scotch-Irish, which abhorred white bondage, had much to do with it. The Scotch-Irishman never submitted to servitude himself nor held the seven-year claim on any man's labor. With all this, however, he believed (such was the condition of the times) in negro slavery. The richer among them had slaves. They tenaciously held on to them. After Pennsylvania had abolished slavery the Scotch-Irish held to their property. The archives of the York court contain hundreds of writs of *habeas corpus*, together with interesting depositions, by which it appears that the slaveholders among the Scotch-Irish held on until the law released "Folly," "Jan," or "Murph" to his or her liberty. They had from two to three black servants, and it is a striking fact that the masters invariably fixed their own given names upon the negroes.

One of the first iron manufactories west of the Susquehanna was founded in 1762 by George Ross (afterwards a signer of the Declaration of Independence) in Manheim (now Heidelberg) Township. This primitive plant is said to have produced the best iron stoves made at that time in Pennsylvania. I have in my possession a side plate of one of these stoves. It is for weight, thickness, and embellishment a valuable relic. It was found on Lot No. 94 of the original survey of Yorktown, while excavating on the old property No. 19 South Beaver Street. Cast in relief on this plate is the name of the iron works, "Mary Ann Furnace, 1763," which proves that it must have been among the first stoves cast. This George Ross stood in his day in the front rank of York lawyers. He afterwards removed to Lancaster and died there. Scotch iron masters supplied the American revolution with shot and shell from their obscure furnaces and forges, remote in the hills of Pennsylvania. On the site of Mary Ann Furnace are yet to be picked up "one pounders" and canister balls of rude formation.

The associator lists of Hamilton, Bann, Huntingdon, Reading, Straban, Cumberland, Menallen, Mount Pleasant, and Tyrone Townships in Adams County and the lower townships of York County, including Monaghan and Warrington, demonstrate the patriotic spirit of the Scotch-Irish. Ninety per cent of these associators (the founders of the revolution) were Scotch-Irish. It

was this organization of men with the fire of liberty in their breasts that made it possible for York County to send to Gen. Washington, after Bunker Hill, the first body of armed militia from the colonies south of the Hudson River.

The Anglo-Saxon and mixed Celtic bloods have been the real conquering powers, wherever cross and sword and pen have been lifted to blaze a way for the welfare of men. The sons of German stock in Pennsylvania will freely bear testimony to the predomination of the Scotman over them in the following specified cases: Trained to read and write English, the Scotch-Irishmen became the first official scribes. They sat in the embarkation offices at the seaboard. They first anglicized the German name, corrupting it for them even in the oath of allegiance. They were assessors, justices of the peace, and the constabulary. Their pens obscured and defaced the distinctive forms and marks in German family names. They sat in the judiciary, and they were the lawyers and the court. To them is largely due the sense of awe and humiliation the early German felt when dispute in boundary lines arose and he was forced into litigation and defense. The old deeds and wills of the German reveal the ruthless hand of the Scotch-Irish scribe. If a German name was spell B-a-r (umlaut), the Scotch-Irish scrivener persisted in writing B-a-r-r, B-a-r-e, B-a-e-r, or B-a-i-r. Every recorder's office in every court in Pennsylvania will verify this statement. But in the Register of Wills office the German in these matters suffered most, he being deprived of the privilege after death of having his last sacred writing spread on the wills book. It happened thus: When the German will came up for probate, the register, who could not interpret any better than transcribe it, simply indorsed it as follows: "Being written in the German language, this will cannot be recorded." In the face of these things is it any wonder the German, a humble and unpretentious man, became more and more reticent, while the propulsive Scotch-Irishman invaded all the thoroughfares of political life, leading from municipal to legislative, congressional, and executive station?

~ The real conquest of the Scotch-Irish was wrought in brains and brawn, in seizure of every opportunity, great and small, by which his own and the public happiness has been increased.

Unremitting activity of mind carried them forward in every enterprise of intense American progress; an activity which can only be likened unto some vast lifting power, moving high above the clouds, and with mighty hooks let down, drags through the years marvelous events and glorious achievements.

It mattered not what dire occasion spread gloom or doubt, or bent down with discouragement other men, they stood erect; their heads above all tumult, and their eyes undeceived by insincerity or false pretense. What they were was like their hills—the rough side out. What they claimed to be, of it they made no boast; but what they proved to be, the American revolution, the Declaration of Independence, the constitution of the United States, unfettered freedom, the flag, and national Union will unfalteringly sustain. If the genealogy of the generals and commanders of the revolution is examined, it will show that a large per cent were Scotch-Irish. Indeed, the character of that great war was the character of the Scotch-Irish.

What were their influences upon the early times and the men with whom they dwelt? What were their relations to the land they had joined others in occupying? Indeed, what mysterious agencies evolved the possibilities of American greatness through them? The correctness of their judgments, the unchangeableness of their decisions, the nobility of their convictions, their intellectuality and depth of spirituality, joined to vital physical force—these were the bases of their influence and character. If you were to inquire what were the mightiest forces employed in laying the foundations of our republic, of vitalizing its genius of strength, of surmounting its imposing structure with the glory of American ideas, the answer would be, there are four. The Puritan, which was pure; the Huguenot and Waldense, which was sturdy; the Quaker, which was passive, devout; the Scotch-Irish, which was belligerent and God-fearing. The Puritan for intellectuality and courage; the German for labor and worth; the Quaker for peace and unselfishness; the Scotch-Irish for impetuosity, fire, valor, war, freedom, and heart. Where the Puritan would build a church the German would plant a field; where the Quaker would turn his cheek, the Scotch-Irish would knock down and paralyze. While the New Englander would give birth to pure principles and lead out the virtuous plans for liberty, the

powerful Scotchman backed them up with muscle. While the palatinate and Waldensian Germans lived in fertile valleys, growing rich, the Scotch-Irish dwelt upon the poorest hills, producing brains. They all filled a wise purpose, and these four are the bed rock of American society in its every relation to politics, religion, peace, or war. It is difficult to say that one could have done well without the other, or that our national character would have so grandly developed to what it is, had any been left out. This we can say: None were derelict in their Heaven-imposed duty. But as our choicest blessings were ever secured to us by force of arms, the sons of Graham and Armstrong performed their conspicuous part with determination, bravery, and honor.

The Puritan came with his laws, the Waldensian with his wheat, the Quaker with his fellowship, and the Scotch-Irish with his shoulders and arms. They all came with their Bibles, and here is the genius of our strength. They all came with pure, untrammelled thought, and on their coins, as in their breasts, they wrote, "In God we trust;" and here is the glory of the American national idea. Jehovah has blessed the constitution of the Pilgrims, the fields of the Teuton, the brotherhood of William Penn, the zeal and fidelity of the Celt. The one believed in prudence and preaching; another in perseverance and plowing; another in peace and persuasion; the Scotch-Irish in persistent push, pluck, and power. They all believed in prayer and providence. The Puritan gave wisdom to counsel, the German sobriety to judgment, the disciples of George Fox simplicity to worship, and the Scotch-Irish dignity to impulse and fortitude to every struggle. Thus they stand before the analyst in the increasing light of a hundred and fifty years. Thus their descendants behold their works and honor anew the virtues of heroic ancestors. Of the Scotch-Irish it can truly be said: Conscientious and honorable, by them no man was ever cheated of his confidence. Quick to resent an injury, they never forgot the kindness of a friend. With charity for the defenseless, they could penetrate and curse skillfully the villainy of a knave. Rigid in the control of family, they grew sons of wisdom and worth, they trained daughters wives to first statesmen in the commonwealth. Being patriotic, they were sure tyranny was the lowest limit of baseness. Being brave, they believed that where justice was the standard heaven

was the warrior's shield. Being noble, they realized "the beauty of truth is, nothing can rest upon it save eternal justice." When the Scotch-Irish decided they were right, they were never proven wrong. Their heads and hearts were boldly strung. In politics and government, in theology and ethics, in the capital and home, in the grain field, as on that other field that drank their life, they prayed to be a benefaction to mankind. Their prayers were answered. From our Susquehanna hills we can look over the ancient Scotch-Irish realm. Among all people are scattered their descendants. The patriarchs are gone. Their footprints can be traced from the Atlantic seaboard to the remote valleys and summits of the Alleghanies. If we but follow with half the zeal with which they pressed on to excellence, our footprints will yet be seen winding along the earth, till at last they too shall be lost upon the sunlit tops of the highest mountains.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY JOHN D. M'ILHENNY.

THIS subject is an important and broad one. Brief consideration only can be given it in the time allowed the speakers, and this paper will therefore be confined to short relations of facts, with proofs from various authors and historians.

The Scotch-Irish, though gifted with a high order of intellectual endowment, have written but little history. They have neither in poetry nor prose extolled the virtues and achievements of their ancestors. Other races have told with both song and story of the valor and deeds of their forefathers. The Scotch-Irish, from the incipiency of the race, were engaged with the stern realities of life. In Scotland and Ireland they fought and struggled for their heritage, for civil and religious freedom. In America, the pioneers of civilization, they penetrated the recesses of the forests and made the plains to smile with their habitations; they planted the foundations of the constitution, and secured the republic.

We are proud of these achievements, and the Scotch-Irish Society of America has performed a good service in promoting the literature and commemorating the deeds of its people. Great credit is due the Society and its founders for the valuable publications issued and for the deserved recognition now given to the race and its services to the country. The Scotch-Irish fully realize and can well claim that they are the "Americans of the Americans."

The history of every country in the world except our own is a history of evolution from barbarism to civilization. Not so the colonies out of which the United States was derived. The early settlers were Christian men and women possessing the highest type of civilization then known to the world. From the earliest settlement to the beginning of the revolution the immigrants were remarkable for intelligence, industry, and individuality, and brought with them the great thoughts and purposes which made this the best nation the world has produced.

The early settlers from Great Britain and Ireland were Puritans; Friends, Scotch-Irish, and Cavalier English. The principal settlers from the Continent of Europe were Dutch, Swedes, Germans, and Huguenots. To all the United States owes a debt of gratitude—the nation has been made by its people. The granger song says truly: "There is more in the man than there is in the land."

The Scotch-Irish did not come to the colonies so early as some of the others mentioned, but they came in great numbers from 1710 to the breaking out of the revolution. Douglass Campbell, the late historian of the State of New York, says that they exceeded all the others in number, and also that they were not poor peasants, but educated and intelligent people, among them many wealthy yeomen and manufacturers. One shipload came to the Massachusetts colony at a very early period, landing in Casco Bay, and it is told as remarkable that out of about three hundred people all but fifteen could sign their own names, showing that education among them was more advanced than with any other immigrants, except perhaps the Huguenot.

Fiske says that at least five hundred thousand Scotch-Irish came to America between 1718 and 1774, and it is stated upon good authority that at the commencement of the revolution they constituted one-third of the civilized population.

But let us inquire what manner of man the Scotch-Irishman was and whence he came. Briefly, he was an Anglo-Saxon, a Scotch Lowlander and a Calvinist. These sturdy people emigrated to Ireland to enjoy greater religious liberty and to better their condition. There they were joined by smaller numbers of other liberty-loving people from England and Wales, and some Huguenots from France. Macaulay, speaking of the important services they rendered to the country and of their heroic defense of Londonderry, says that "they were a splendid race of men, and that the Protestant immigrants to Ireland, both English and Scotch, were, as a class, superior to the average of the people left behind them." They have not intermarried with the native Irish, and call themselves Scotch largely even now. They settled in the bleakest part of Ireland, but by their thrift and energy soon made it the best part. They had, however, hardly established themselves in their new home when the hand of the

Church—the Episcopal Church—was laid heavily upon them as Nonconformists. They had not forgotten Kirk's Lambs nor Claverhouse's Dragoons, and, although the new persecution was not so bloody as those villains made their campaigns, yet it was more humiliating and intolerable. Their faces then turned toward America, and it was not long before they made the government left behind pay dearly for the cruel treatment in Scotland and Ireland. Plowden says it was the immigrants from Ireland that wrested the colonies from the crown. Froude states, in speaking of the causes of the great emigration to this country: "And so the emigration continued. The young, the courageous, the energetic, the earnest, those alone among her colonists who, if ever Ireland was to be a Protestant country, could be effective missionaries, were torn up by the roots, flung out, and bid find a home elsewhere; and they found a home, to which England fifty years later had to regret that she had allowed them to be driven." Froude says again: "The resentment which they carried with them continued to burn in their new homes, and in the war for independence England had no fiercer enemies than the grandsons and great-grandsons of the Presbyterians who had held Ulster against Tyrconnel." Lecky and Froude again and again deplore the policy and stupidity of the government that allowed such a people to be made its enemies.

Our own great historian, Bancroft, says it was not the Cavalier nor the Puritan of New England, but the Presbyterian from Ulster that made the first call for the freedom of the colonies.

In the early days of this country Scotch-Irish and Presbyterian were synonymous. It is well known that the form of government of the United States is quite similar to that of the Presbyterian Church. Meetings of Presbyteries and Synods had made the ministers and elders familiar with public speaking, as well as with the management of assemblies. These gatherings also afforded opportunity for interchange of thought and opinion upon political as well as religious subjects. They became a concentrated power, and the Presbyterians in colonial conventions wielded an influence far in excess of their proportionate number. Their voice was ever raised in favor of independence and without fear of the result.

At the first call for war the Scotch-Irishman shouldered arms,

and from Lexington to Yorktown he was conspicuous by his presence, being ever in the center of the conflict. At Lexington Col. Reid, a native of Ulster, and Col. Stark, the son of an Ulsterman, with their men from the Scotch-Irish settlements in New Hampshire, bore the brunt of that initial battle for liberty, and their shots were heard around the world.

Dr. Egle, late librarian and historian of the State of Pennsylvania, states: "I say here without fear of contradiction that, had it not been for the outspoken words, the bravery, and the indomitable spirit of the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas, there would have been no independence, and the now glorious Union would be but an English colony. The Scotch-Irish never swerved from their duty, and during that eight years' struggle for liberty these descendants of the early settlers of Pennsylvania, with their brethren of German and Swiss blood, made independence an assured fact. It was in Pennsylvania that the Scotch-Irish signers made the declaration possible, and it was the trials and sufferings of the Pennsylvania soldiers, chiefly Scotch-Irish, at Valley Forge, that proved to the British commanders that they had no trifling foe to contend with."

Is not this a superb tribute by so able a man and without a drop of Scotch-Irish blood in his veins?

Some interesting information regarding the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania is found in a letter written in 1727 by James Logan, the Proprietary and Quaker Governor, to James Steel, recently published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. He states: "About that time, considerable numbers of good sober people came in from Ireland who wanted to be settled. At ye same time, also it happened that we were under some apprehensions from ye northern Indians, of whose claims to ye lands on Susquehanna I was not then sensible, having always till ye year 1722 depended on Dongans Purchase from ye account I had received of it from ye proprietor both here and in England. I therefore thought it might be prudent to plant a settlement of such men as those who formerly had so bravely defended Derry and Inniskillen, as a frontier in case of any disturbance."

Later on, when the Scotch-Irish had become dissatisfied with some of the acts of the proprietary government in not furnish-

ing proper boundaries and titles to the lands and had, as James Logan thought, become unruly, he said: "No force against them will be sufficient to quell or appease, being not only very numerous, but resolute and animated with ye same spirit with which their countrymen acted against King James, when all his regular troops, assisted by those from France, could not reduce those small towns of Derry and Inniskillen."

Throughout the colonies, the vast majority of the pioneers were Scotch-Irish, as were nearly all the early fighters of Indians. Robertson and Boone were Scotch-Irish. George Rogers Clark, called the Hannibal of the West, with his band of two hundred Scotch-Irish riflemen from the Valley of Virginia, rescued the Northwest Territory from the British and Indians, who were then in possession of the great section now comprising the States of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan. When the revolutionary war ended, this was held to be British territory, the same as Canada. The Indians and white settlers were loyal British subjects; and if it had not been conquered by Col. Clark and his Scotch-Irish soldiers, the Ohio River would have been the boundary between this country and British possessions. This was a momentous achievement, and the story is one of the most thrilling in American history. George Rogers Clark and every one of his men were Scotch-Irish from the Valley of Virginia, whence later came Sam Houston, the liberator of Texas, and Stonewall Jackson with his famous foot cavalry.

George Washington spent nine years of his early manhood in a Scotch-Irish settlement in Virginia, and, it is stated, there imbibed many of his principles of fairness and liberty. The only public bequest of the Father of his Country was \$50,000 to Liberty Hall, a school among those people, now Washington and Lee University, at Lexington.

The Scotch-Irish came to the United States in two streams, both constantly pushing into the interior, subduing the Indians and opening the country for cultivation. One of these streams came in at Charleston, S. C., later producing such intellectual giants as the Rutledges, Calhoun, McDuffy, the poet Hayne, and many others. The other stream came in at Philadelphia and divided into two branches, one going down the Cumberland Valley, the other crossing the Alleghanies.

The branch that started into the Cumberland Valley then

spread through the Valley of Virginia and settled Tennessee and Kentucky. The soldiers and statesmen of Tennessee and Kentucky, up to the time of our civil war, wielded an immense influence on the whole country. This can be illustrated by saying that at one and the same time the four most influential and conspicuous positions in the country were occupied by men from the single State of Tennessee. Andrew Jackson was President; Hugh Lawson White, President of the Senate; James K. Polk, Speaker of the House of Representatives; and John Bell, the foremost man in Congress. All of these men were of pure Scotch-Irish blood.

Tennessee has been a valuable State. Its people, with other Scotch-Irish stock, practically rescued the middle South from the Indians and won the battle of New Orleans. They largely settled Texas and formed its republic. The subsequent war with Mexico resulted in the acquirement by the United States of a vast amount of territory, including most of our Pacific Coast. Theodore Roosevelt admits that the Scotch-Irish were the principal factors in the "Winning of the West."

The other branch of the Scotch-Irish went across the mountains to what was then called Westmoreland, and settled Western Pennsylvania, becoming the chief factors in developing the tremendous mineral resources of iron, coal, and oil centered in that region, and which, with their allied industries, are the most important in the United States. The stream then pushed on westward and settled the now State of Ohio. It is safe to say that in that State nearly all the great lawyers, governors, congressmen, ministers, and statesmen, from John McMillin to William McKinley and Senator Hanna, who have made Ohio prosperous and powerful, have been almost exclusively of Scotch-Irish stock. All over the farther West, descendants of these early settlers have been leaders in thought and action.

In Pennsylvania, the Scotch-Irish produced such lawyers as McKean, Gibson, Black, Kennedy, Lowry, and Grier, and the late Chief Justices Williams and Sterrett. The Pennsylvania Railroad has been and is now largely dominated by this race. The great Tom Scott and Frank Thompson were Scotch-Irish, as also is Mr. A. J. Cassatt, the President of the road to-day.

As an evidence of the activity of the Scotch-Irish, it can be stated that two-thirds of the members of the present United

States Senate and House of Representatives have this blood in them. These people are equally evident in all the motive forces of the country—at the bar, in the pulpit, in finance, and in commerce. They have developed and are directing great industries, operate and control powerful corporations and railroad systems, have acquired wealth and maintained the respect of their fellows. They are a self-reliant people and outspoken in their principles.

While I claim for them the front rank in the subjugation and development of the United States, they have not been idle in other directions. As educators, they are entitled to the gratitude of the country. Wherever they located, the Church and school were soon established. Douglas Campbell states: "For nearly a century before the revolution the Scotch-Irish conducted most of the classical schools south of the provinces of New York." The famous Log College of the Tenants was the beginning of five existing colleges, Princeton being the first. Our own Pennsylvania University had its beginning in the Latin school of Dr. Allison, a son of Ulster, as was also Charles Thomson, a teacher in the same school. A volume could easily be filled in reciting the facts in connection with the lives of the ministers and teachers of this race.

I do not hold that the Scotch-Irish were perfect, for they were not, and had enemies. The Quakers did not like them nor their strenuous ways. The placid Germans did not like them—thought them too fond of fighting and too pushing.

Sargent, in his introduction to the "Journal of Braddock's Expedition," finds fault with the Scotch-Irish for their treatment of the Indians, but says: "They are a brave, hardy, hot-headed race, excitable in temper, unrestrainable in passion; their hand opened as impetuously to a friend as it clinched against an enemy. Impatient of restraint, rebellious against everything that in their eyes bore the semblance of injustice, we find these men the readiest among the ready on the battlefields of the revolution. If they had faults, a lack of patriotism or of courage was not among the number."

SCOTCH-IRISH FAMILY LIFE A PRIME FACTOR IN THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE RACE.

BY REV. SAMUEL M'LANAHAN, LAWRENCEVILLE, N. J.

No one would claim that family life is peculiar to the Scotch-Irish. But does not the family hold an unusual place in the pioneer movements of these people in America?

In Virginia so great a majority of the first English settlers were unmarried men that the London Company felt obliged later on to send over shiploads of women to provide wives for them. This preponderance of young, adventurous men has generally marked the early days in frontier settlements. In striking contrast with this, the Scotch-Irish pioneers came not as individuals but as families.

On the other hand, the family is the only prominent unit apparent in their movement. Puritan families came to New England, but they came often as parts of the larger unit—a colony already formed. Where this was not the case, they commonly located at first in towns. Thus the Massachusetts colony had agreed that "Boston" should be the name of their chief town, and they established it the year of their landing. When the New Haven colony sailed into their bay, they bartered with the Indians for a site, and began to lay out at once in squares the ground plan of that spacious city. It has been estimated that twenty thousand Puritans came into New England between 1625 and 1640, and before 1643 fifteen towns had been incorporated in Massachusetts alone. Although the New England "town" was not confined to a close aggregation of houses, yet the hamlet or village usually formed its nucleus, and frequently included the whole population at first. In like manner, the Dutch clustered about their trading posts, and the Quakers about their towns. But it is rare to find any antecedent bond other than kinship holding the families of Scotch-Irish immigrants together. Once here, they scattered out over the country on isolated farms. Almost their only common bond was the bridle path which led to the lonely church by the spring. For example, they began to settle the Cumberland Valley about 1730, and within a decade enough families had come in

to establish eight congregations, but more than a score of years elapse before we find them laying out towns. Carlisle dates from 1751, Chambersburg from 1762. The consequent isolation of the family tended to intensify the family life which marked the movement.

But not only was the prominence of the family as the unit of the Scotch-Irish movement unusual; the type of that family life was so distinct and positive that it may fairly be considered a chief factor in developing the character and leading to the achievements of the race.

The family furnished the race. Like his Scotch ancestor and his Puritan brother, the Scotch-Irishman drew many of his conceptions of life from the Old Testament. Among these, apparently, was the value set upon a large family. He recognized children as a heritage from the Lord. As a stalwart family grew around him, his frontier experience confirmed to him the figure that children were as arrows in the hand of a mighty man, and he counted himself happy when he found his quiver full of them. Families of twelve or more are not infrequently met with in the earlier records. To this fundamental fact, the spread and influence of the race is largely due.

The family trained the race in the conceptions and qualities essential to leadership. In it was given practical exhibition of authority, law, order, coöperation, and industry. The view of parental authority held was high. The exercise of it, however kind and wise, was usually strict and sometimes severe. But it was based upon the claim of right and aimed at justice. It bound the family together and secured the individual work and mutual helpfulness upon which, under the circumstances, not only the prosperity of the family but life itself depended. It was in this school of obedience and organization that the young Scotch-Irishman learned both how to combine and to command in the wider activities and associations of Church and State.

The family gave its religious tone to the race. At the best, meetinghouses were far and services infrequent. Very largely "the church" was "in the house." There was inculcated and enforced the observance of "the Sabbath." On that day, at least, many a father reproduced his part, as portrayed for Scotland in the *Cotter's Saturday Night*, and, priestlike, read and prayed with his family. The mother heard the catechism, the Scripture

verses, and the Psalms according to Rouse's version. It was the parents who saw to it that the children were at church, carrying the younger ones, if need be, behind them on their horses. The churches which the Scotch-Irish planted are often cited as at once the evidence and the means of their religion; even as the springs by which these churches were located are commonly accounted the sources of the streams which run in valleys; but these springs themselves have their sources in the hidden recesses of the hills, and in like manner the real source of the religious character and activity of the Scotch-Irish race is, under God, to be traced back of the public church to the secluded but primary and potent influence of this home training.

Intellectual activity was awakened, fostered, provided for through the Scotch-Irish home. In great measure this was the result, directly and indirectly, of the religious characteristics just noted. This brought into the family the Book of books and other books intended to explain and enforce it. These, at least, the children must be taught to read. This was a primary reason for the establishment of schools; with it was closely associated that of educating ministers. But the aim was never limited to these ends, or rather it was felt that in order to secure them in the highest degree the fullest general knowledge possible was requisite.

Thus in the bosom of the Scotch-Irish family was born and nurtured that appreciation of learning and desire for it which both founded and filled so many schools, academies, and colleges.

If the race is to persist, be worthy, and achieve in the future as in the past, then must its members preserve and perpetuate the most potent of all human factors in that worthy past—the true spirit of the Scotch-Irish home.

THE TOWN OF CARLISLE, PA., AND ITS HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT.

BY BENJAMIN MATTHIAS NEAD, HARRISBURG, PA.

I AM admonished by past experience and by an appreciation of what is due to others that this is neither the place nor the occasion for dealing with details, so an effort has been made to condense the subject-matter which is here presented, that it may follow along general lines of thought; and its comprehensive title, so far as it is suggestive of details, must be modified to conform to the method of consideration.

"Even cities have their graves," says Longfellow, and, with what force may it be added, with respect to some of our American cities, that the indwellers themselves, in not a few instances, are the gravediggers!

There are localities, towns, cities, and almost, we may say, commonwealths, within the borders of this country of ours, to-day, the beginnings of which were coeval with the implanting of the first seeds of American civilization, which, so far as the history is concerned of the real part which they played as potent factors in advancing that civilization, have been buried, and almost completely covered with the mantle of oblivion. And this, because the dwellers therein at the outset were, and their descendants have continued to be, only the "priceless materialists," as some one once called them, whose important duty it was, and has been, to perform the practical things which were, so to speak, the foundation stones and solid framework of the ideal structure, the evolution of which these conscientious workers scarcely realized; but which others, under more fortunate circumstances and encompassed by different conditions, early recognized, and as early appropriated as their sole property.

There is no locality to which that which has been said is more applicable than to the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania—the old "Mother of Counties" and its ancient shiretown, Carlisle.

The pioneer settlers of the Kittochtinny Valley "had no Cotton Mather to write their *Magnalia*," no master hand like his, at leisure with facile pen to mold sturdy thought into permanent form, and give inspiration to a long line of writers, who, around

the central strand of the history of their own locality and peculiar sect, wove the cable which anchored the literature of the Old World, on its westward advance, to the eastern shores of the New World.

When Cotton Mather was writing, the valley west of Susquehanna was substantially *terra incognita* to the white man.

When historiography in New England was approaching the first century mark of its existence, and, in the midst of the material, the ideal was assuming shape, the Scotch-Irish of the Cumberland Valley, with ax and rifle in hand, were absorbed in the intensely material work of solving the profoundest problems of American civilization, with no opportunity for the cultivation of the ideal, outside of the realm of dreamland, and little use for the pen except when needed to sketch land titles upon the ever-widening map of the new civilization, or to frame the hasty messages of hope or disaster, of counsel or of warning, which terror-stricken neighbors to the eastward, and the men of government, awaited in suspense.

While Nathaniel Ames, of New England, in rounded periods of prophetic language, told the story of the future onward march of the arts and sciences, across the Appalachian mountains, to the western ocean; pictured the "age of iron" of to-day, when that metal should be "more useful than gold and silver," when it should "employ millions of hands, not only to form the martial sword and peaceful share alternately, but an infinity of utensils, improved in the exercise of art and handicraft among men," men multiplied into millions with mighty cities for homes. Whilst he prophesied, the Scotch-Irish founders of the nation were taking steps, here and hereabout, to turn his prophecy into fact. Then it was that they sat in troubled council at Carlisle, devising plans defensive, that the New World civilization, a thing of weakness, a creeping infant, might not be driven back, wounded unto death, to its mother across the sea; plans aggressive, that the domain of its empire might be advanced, through hordes of savage murderers, defending against it; through the dangerous mountain passes, through the valleys beset by death, into the unbroken wilderness, across the prairies, on toward the setting sun.

There is no son of the Cumberland Valley with any knowledge of the history of that locality and his commonwealth who does not have an inward conviction, whether in loyalty expressed,

or in diffidence withheld, that history as it has been written does not give to Pennsylvania in whole or in part the proper place which it is entitled to hold in the story of the past. The reason of this is only too plain. Every locality outside of Philadelphia (whose history was so fundamental or so closely bordering on the ideal that it naturally remained with the people at large) has been too busy making history to have time to record it.

It would be a revelation if it were now possible to write the complete history of the once little outpost town in the Cumberland Valley in which we are interested to-day; "to put aside the hazy, many-folded curtain of time," and have passed before us in panoramic presentment the many scenes which have been enacted here, and which, with due regard for the truth, can be said to have had so important a bearing upon the beginnings of this nation.

Carlisle is an epitome of the history of Pennsylvania, as Pennsylvania, in truth, is an epitome of a most important side of the history of the nation, from the time of the earliest struggles with the Indians through the revolutionary period and most of the events of importance marking the later years. If by Divine design the people of New England were in the New World the pioneers of "human literature" which dealt with the theory of ideal government, so under the same ceaseless purpose had the frontier settlers of Pennsylvania, in the formative years of American civilization, the intensely material conditions of the work to meet and compass. Is it not meet and proper that the generations which enjoy in leisure should see to it that posterity shall have the truth of the situation presented in order that a correct judgment of the relative value of the two kinds of service may be formed?

The last two decades of the eighteenth century, and the first two score and ten years of the nineteenth century, constitute what has been called by some thinkers the formative period of American growth; the time in which Old World methods were applied to the government of the strange and unique forces born of New World conditions.

These years of the nineteenth century were marked by the steady growth of the literary spirit, already long quickened, in New England. Ralph Waldo Emerson and his group of Concord writers, through their particular school of thought and

philosophy, secured for America a recognized place in the world of literature, and, to a degree stemming the tide of materialism, incidentally gave a marked stimulus to another philosophy, that which "teaches by example"—to wit, history, the force of which was felt not only throughout New England but in New York as well, leaving Pennsylvania for a later awakening along these lines.

But while these forces were at work among our Eastern neighbors; while Emerson was "agonizing" with the transcendental, and Bancroft was evolving his history of the United States and incidentally glorifying New England; while O'Callaghan was delving among the musty Dutch records in Holland to find the material for the first volumes of that magnificent documentary history which should be the pride of the Empire State, and is to-day a rich treasure-house for the student of her historic past, Pennsylvania was using her State records and archives for fuel, with apparently no one to love them and care for them but that old Pennsylvania German, I. D. Rupp, who was laboriously copying and heroically printing, with his sturdy comments thereon, such as came to his hand. Using them as fuel, or suffering vandals to seize and mutilate or to dispose of them to the paper mills to be turned into pulp, out of which paper was made, perchance to have printed upon it the historic works of New York and New England.

But along lines of progress, *sui generis*, Pennsylvania was still advancing. The methods of the distinctive school of nation builders, who had their early home at Carlisle and in the Cumberland Valley, were still being applied in forwarding those great enterprises of public improvement so called; the building of turnpikes, canals, and railroads; opening wide the outer gateway, that civilization, bringing with her the children of education—soon "to prove too strong for the tribes of the ignorant"—might enter upon her inheritance; projecting the beginnings of lines of travel and traffic between the rapidly settling East and the yet unsettled territory of the mighty West, whose people, the future, in teeming millions held in the hollow of her hand.

As the antiquarian proceeds with his work of excavation among the covered cities of the plain, buoyed by the hope of discovering relics of their past life which may further elucidate their history and advance his work of investigation; so he who would enter the heart of these little valley cities, must proceed to work upon

the débris of nearly two centuries under which the carelessness, forgetfulness, and almost criminal neglect of an intensely practical people have buried them. Under the influence of the spirit of research into the beginnings of things, abroad in our land to-day, the cavilers who question the utility of the work of the antiquarian and the critics who condemn it are growing fewer, and it goes without saying that, among this cultured gathering here of representatives of a people whose forbears and their labors are so worthy of remembrance and commemoration, there is not a single voice that will be raised to give expression to the hackneyed interrogatory of the utilitarian, *Cui bono?*

And what shall we say of that which lies hidden under the mantle of the years in and in the vicinage of this old trysting place of patriots? It may be herein hinted at only.

The valley from Harris's Ferry to Conococheague is the land of promise for the Scotch-Irish investigation, rich in an unreaped harvest of their past deeds.

Carlisle is the "Hall of the Ancients," which the investigator should enter with reverent and inquiring mind.

Would he learn something of the hardships and dangers which beset the life of a primitive trader and an early explorer into an unknown country? Let him seek the company of James Letort, the only white man within a hundred miles. His rude cabin is there, circled around in the distance with Indian wigwams.

Would he seek to know something of diplomacy in the wilderness? There, within the inclosure formed by a few settlers' cabins, he may join company with the great Benjamin Franklin and Conrad Weiser and George Croghan and a few representative men of the settlement, who are holding discreet converse with the most distinguished representatives of the most powerful of the allied Indian tribes, who have tarried here on their return from the Southland to counsel with their white brothers.

Would he come in touch with the spirit of hardihood and daring which inspired his ancestors in the desperate straits of their defensive warfare against a savage foe, that never knew the meaning of mercy? Stop, then, for only a little space, at night-fall in the palisaded blockhouse, just west of the little cluster of houses. Note in the distance along the mountain summit the lurid light that tells the story of ruin to the homes and death to the dear ones of those fugitives who are creeping along under the shadows of the night, in company with others, to find safety within the fort.

Would he gather information concerning the early undertakings in trade and commerce? If so, he must learn of Ephraim Blaine, how he managed the first pack horse lines in the valley, and blazed the way for the Conestoga wagon, the stagecoach, and the railroad, across the mountain and through the unbroken wilderness, exchanging the commodities of Philadelphia, by way of Harris's Ferry and the United Packers' Lines, for the peltries of the far West.

Would he have his heart stirred with tales of martial deeds? Then there may be, in truth, certified to him most worthy matters relative to every battle of the revolution from Lexington to Yorktown. He should gather what may be learned of Capt. William Hendricks and his first company of Pennsylvania Continental soldiers, marching to service while the guns of Lexington were still sounding; of Gen. Robert Magaw of the weary days of battle on Long Island and of the terrible siege of Fort Washington, the ill-fated post which he commanded; of the Continental soldiers of the Cumberland Valley dying like cattle in the horrible prison ships; of Col. William Thompson and his battalion of expert riflemen which won glory under him as their commander; of Gen. William Irvine and his famous commands; of "Mollie Pitcher," German Mollie Ludwig, the heroine of Monmouth; of her Scotch-Irish husband, John Casper Hayes; of Gen. John Armstrong, the hero of Kittanning; again of Col. Ephraim Blaine and his patriotic services as quartermaster general of the Continental army; of Col. Thomas Butler, who received the special thanks of the commander in chief at Brandywine; and, if you will, of scores of others, heroes and patriots, whom history has seemingly forgotten.

Would he be interested in the work of patriots and statesmen in civil life? If so, he should make acquaintance with James Wilson, signer of the Declaration of Independence, representative in State Council and Assembly, and preëminently the leader in the convention which framed the first constitution of the nation, and the chief advocate of that constitution.

But we are running away. These are of the matters and things, the proper and deserved elaboration of which will fill pages of history.

In connection with our theme two interrogatories call loudly for answer—to wit:

"How is this work to be done?"

"Who is to do it?"

As has been said, the proper spirit for the work is abroad. It has even impressed itself upon the lighter literature of the day, and, at last, this ancient valley has come under its influence.

How is the work to be done? Lord Bacon tells us that "industrious persons by an exact scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records, and evidences, fragments of stones, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time."

. And who are the "industrious persons" who are to do this? Cicero says that "he who is ignorant, and continues so to be, of that which happened before he was born is forever a child."

Are the descendants of the Scotch-Irish of the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania still children?

It is part of the divine economy that no opportunity for the accomplishment of a grand work is ever presented in which an instrument is not at hand by which it may be accomplished. Every foot of ground in old Carlisle is holy as well where stand the homes of the living as where rest the dead. If, in Philadelphia, liberty "was both cradled and crowned," at Carlisle it was helped along in the day when it was a toddling infant. I commend this little city of the valley and its storied neighborhood to the Scotch-Irish of America.

May 30, 1901.

SCOTCH-IRISH PRESBYTERIANISM IN CUMBER- BERLAND VALLEY—ITS ORIGIN AND RELIGIOUS, EDUCATIONAL, AND PATRIOTIC ASPECTS.

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PRESBYTERIANISM in the Cumberland Valley is not of recent date; nor is it of uncertain origin or character. It is cotemporary with the settlement of the country, and in its early history coextensive as well.

The story of the wrongs, of the sufferings, of the persecutions of our Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterian ancestors in their native homes is an old story. It has oft been told. It needs no repetition in this presence. Nevertheless, with repetition it loses none, it never can lose any, of its thrilling interest. And its lessons are for the ages. To men of this day it would seem impossible that its scenes could ever be reënacted. Still, it can never prove amiss to remember that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

It is not to be wondered at that noble-minded, God-fearing, liberty-loving men and women should have felt constrained to leave their homes by the unchristian, tyrannical act of 1661, by which Prelacy was reëstablished. By it all Presbyterian ministers were ejected from their charges, on the ground that they were not ordained. This ignoring of the validity of Presbyterian ordination carried with it a denial of the validity of any official act performed by its ministry; as, for instance, marriage, involving the questions of legitimacy of children and of inheritance. This act remained in force one hundred and eleven years.

Nor is it to be wondered at that a new impetus should have been given to this feeling by the passage of the test act, twenty years later. This was aimed alike against nonconforming Protestants and Roman Catholics. This act precluded every man from holding any civil or military office, or engaging in any employment receiving pay from the crown, who failed to partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper within three months in the Established Church of England.

Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were not the men tame-

ly to bow to this. Rather than endure the wrongs inflicted on them, they chose to risk privation, hardship, suffering in seeking new homes beyond the briny deep.

As underlying all great movements alike in Church and State, there existed among these people a deep, almost all-pervading sentiment. At first the number of those seeking new homes in the American colonies was not large; and those who came did so as individuals and separate families, settling, some in New England, some in Delaware, some on the eastern shores of Maryland and Virginia, and some in South Carolina. But early in the eighteenth century the flow of immigration increased rapidly, and later on reached its full tides as the Ulster leases expired. They then came by shiploads, their number reaching many thousands per year. With scarcely an exception these latter steered for the province of William Penn.

By the provincial authorities their coming was not at any time hailed with joy. No glad welcome was accorded them. They were viewed as intruders. And as their numbers increased they were regarded with grave apprehension as to what the results might be. In 1724 James Logan, Secretary of the Province, wrote: "It looks to me as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither, for last week no less than six ships arrived. . . . The common fear is that if they thus continue to come they will make themselves proprietors of the province. It is strange that they thus crowd where they are not wanted."

The lamented late Dr. William Egle, who did honor to his State as historian and for many years Model State Librarian, in his history of Dauphin County, says: "This last sentence [in Mr. Logan's letter] deserves to be emphasized. The Scotch-Irish were not treated with the same consideration accorded to the Germans and Swiss. The latter could locate anywhere; the former could not. The Scotch-Irish settled on the Manor of the Conestoga, but they were removed by force, their cabins burned, and they were told to go beyond the Conewago. The Germans occupied immediately the land from which the Scotch-Irish had been driven. . . . The Scotch-Irish, ejected even from the surveyed and purchased lands, pushed across the Conewago and Swatara, where they were permitted to remain."

Thus the country east of the Susquehanna River and immediately opposite the Kittochtinny or Cumberland Valley became literally packed with these people, eagerly awaiting the time when they should be permitted freely to pass over and occupy

the coveted land. The purchase from the Indians was not made until the fall of 1736, and the land office, for the sale of land to individuals, was not opened until January 1, 1737. Notwithstanding this, with consent of the Indians, special permission was given to very many to cross the river and occupy land beyond Louthier Manor, which extended back six miles from the river. In as much as the country had not yet been ceded by the Indians, these settlers were given simply "inception of titles" to the land they occupied, to be subsequently exchanged for deeds. Conspicuous among those who entered Cumberland Valley under this regulation were George and Benjamin Chambers, the founders of the goodly town in which we meet, claimed by its proud citizens to be the Queen of the Valley, though not without its fair and worthy competitor, Carlisle, thirty miles to the east. James, the third of the Chambers brothers, located at the head of Green Spring, near Newville; and Robert, the fourth, at the head of Middle Spring. Among these settlers were also many other prominent men, some of whose names still live, associated with certain localities. For instance, Silvers, Le Tort, Trindle, Shippen (after whom, by the way, is called the oldest town west of the Susquehanna River, and the first county seat of Cumberland County, which then included the entire valley).

The fact that as early as October, 1734, a "supplication" was sent to the Presbytery of Donegal for a supply to preach to the people of the Conodoguinet (which means the region of Silver's Spring and Carlisle) gives the impression that as early as that date a very large number had availed themselves of the "inception title" expedient. But it was after the country had been purchased from the Indian by the provincial authorities, and had been thrown open for general settlement, that the grand rush took place. So great was it that from the year 1736 to 1740, inclusive, not less than eight strong Churches were organized—viz., Lower Pennsborough, now Silver Spring; Upper Pennsborough, now Carlisle First; Hopewell, now Big Spring at Newville; Upper Hopewell, now Middle Spring; Upper West Conococheague, now Mercersburg; East Conococheague, now Greencastle; Falling Spring, at Chambersburg, and Rocky Spring, four miles northwest of Chambersburg. It is estimated by Stille, in his life of John Dickinson, that in 1740 more than one-fourth the entire population of Pennsylvania were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and that these were found mainly in what were

then Cumberland and York Counties, now including Franklin and Adams Counties.

As we study the character of these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians there comes to mind the saying of some one, that "Principles are the determining forces in the formation of character." This, we take it, is true as applied to the individual, the Church, the civil government. The Scotch-Irish settlers of Cumberland Valley furnish a fine illustration of the correctness of this proposition. It is true that a local historian* of merited repute has assumed the position that these settlers were not actuated in seeking their new homes, as were those who had come over from Scotland and Ireland about the close of the preceding century, of whom mention has been made, so much by a desire to find freedom of worship as by the hope of improving their worldly condition. This we cannot regard as a full and fair representation of the case. That they did desire to secure a better material condition than that enjoyed, or more properly endured, in Ulster, there can be no doubt. But are we to regard this as the principle that gave character to these men, to their noble bearing, and to their achievements? We emphatically answer: No. Water will not rise above its level. Hetherington† attributes the resistance of the Scotch Presbyterians during this and the period anterior to it to a much higher principle than anything of a temporal or material character, even such as a determination to defend their liberties and their rights. "This great principle," says he, "as abstractly stated and most tenaciously maintained by the Church of Scotland—and no less so by their kinsmen and coreligionists in the North of Ireland—is that the Lord Jesus Christ is the sole Head and King of the Church, and hath therein appointed a government distinct from that of the civil magistrate. In the form in which it practically appears, this great principle realizes such a distinction of the civil and ecclesiastical powers from each other as to secure to each a separate, coördinate, and independent court for the exercise of their respective functions."

This principle our Scotch-Irish ancestors, who settled this valley and those adjoining, brought with them. This principle in large measure led them, when the rupture with the mother country came, to array themselves practically as a man on the side of American freedom; whilst to a large extent the ministers and

* Rev. Conway P. Wing, Hist. 1st Ch., Carlisle. † Hist. Ch. Scotland.

the people of the Established Church were loyal to the King of England. And why should it have been otherwise? These latter had sworn allegiance to the king as head of the Church no less than that of the civil government. On the other hand, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians repudiated and abhorred the doctrine as presumptuous and blasphemous.

Nay, more—and what is of vast importance to us, to the whole land, to the growing cause of civil and religious liberty everywhere—this principle, through the potent influence and effort of those who held it, found an embodiment in the organic law of our government after freedom's battle had been fought. Under the operation of this principle the whole realm of conscience is preserved entirely free from the control of external power. Under its operation Church and State have been and are separated, and civil and religious liberty is the heritage of every citizen. And to the praise and honor of our government be it noted that in those countries recently brought under her control by the fortunes of war the observance of this great principle is being insisted upon. Sad would be the day when it should cease to be operative. It would mark a relegation to the dark periods of the past. But this may not be. There is a Hand unseen, directing and controlling in the affairs of men, which will not permit the finger to go back on the dial plate of history.

The traits of character which distinguished these people cannot fail to call forth the admiration and elicit the praise of thinking men. They possessed none of those features which mark a rabble of unprincipled adventurers. It was not without cause that they had left their old homes. It was with high aspirations and noble purposes that they had crossed the deep, and were now experiencing privation and hardship and peril. There were homes to be made. There were lofty principles to be maintained. There were priceless privileges, civil and religious, to be secured and enjoyed. With the prospect and in the pursuit of objects such as these they could hope all things, endure all things. They stood for God and the right. With them every principle, every measure had to be weighed in the balance of right, as viewed by them. This was the standard by which was fixed the seal of approval or the stamp of disapproval.

In the strength and manliness of their character they would have scorned to recognize the easy-going doctrines of expediency which, to-day, help so many men over rough places in business, in politics, in religion. Their high regard for the prin-

ciple of right constituted the groundwork of what is so often laid to their charge, and to the charge of their descendants, as Scotch-Irish obstinacy. They were obstinate. We do not attempt to deny it. But this we say: Their obstinacy was not willful obstinacy. It was not obstinacy for obstinacy's sake. It was the obstinacy of clear, strong conviction. As such, it is a trait to be held in honor rather than reproach. The man who will contend for and is willing to suffer in maintaining the right is the man who is worthy of admiration and confidence.

A people possessing such traits of character were well fitted to be pioneers in a new country, and to lay securely the foundations of civil and religious institutions that should prove blessings to their posterity, and that should bide the ravages of time.

It may not be out of place just here to speak of a rough school of experience to which the Scotch-Irish settlers of Cumberland Valley were subjected—the peril of frontiersmen with savage neighbors. Not only had they to do battle for themselves, but to a very large extent they also stood as a defense for the inhabitants of the other parts of the province against the cruel attacks of the denizens of the forest. It may have been with a view to this, and because of their known undaunted courage, that the provincial authorities had placed them where they were. Positive evidence of this may not be at hand, but very strong presumptive evidence is afforded by the facts in the case. Historians of that and subsequent time in sifting motives have, with wonderful unanimity, found here a potent reason for the discrimination shown against the Scotch-Irish in assigning places of settlement. They had been dispossessed of fertile lands farther east, and huddled together on the east bank of the Susquehanna River. When in this plethoric condition of population, special inducements were held out to them to remove to the region beyond the river, skirting the Kittochtinny or North Mountain, and to the section bordering on Lord Baltimore's colony. Instructions were given to the land agents not to sell to them except in these frontier districts. These orders were made imperative in 1750, about which time no small degree of unrest and discontent began to be manifested by the Indians.

If the design of the authorities was as above intimated, their choice of men for these posts of peril could have fallen on no better. They were men of will, of nerve, of determination. For God and his law they had profound reverence. The face of human foe, whether white or red, they feared not. Located as

they were, they were never secure by day or by night. This was especially true during the period of the French and Indian war. Frequently they and their kinsmen who had sought homes in the beautiful and fertile Path Valley, west of the Kittoctinny Mountain, and in the picturesque and no less fertile Great Cove, west of the Tuscarora Mountain, were compelled to flee for safety to the fortifications which were located at various convenient points. Generally they had no warning of the proximity of the skulking foe. They knew not when an attack might be made. Hence they became the close students of Indian character and of Indian habits and methods, and were constantly on the alert. Men went armed to their daily toil in the fields. They slept with their arms at their side. They went armed to the house of God on the Sabbath day. An instance is on record of the Church services being interrupted in the midst of the sermon by the arrival of intelligence that a family had been murdered in the neighborhood. Quickly the pastor,* whose trusted rifle was at his side in the pulpit, was at the head of the men of his congregation in hot pursuit of the foe.

It is difficult for us at this day to understand and appreciate what the Scotch-Irish of Cumberland Valley and adjoining Path and Aughwick Valleys and the Great Cove endured. If an apology is needed for dwelling at some length on this subject, it is to be found in this fact, and in a desire to keep alive and foster a becoming interest in the heroic men of that day. They were schooled by bitter experience to meet and fight the enemy on his own terms and by his own methods. Hence they have been most unjustly charged by a certain class of historians with remorseless cruelty. They understood their foeman, and knew full well the stern necessity of meeting him as they did. In speaking of the events of that period the late Rev. Alexander T. McGill, D.D., LL.D., has said: "The rich and beautiful Cumberland Valley became the bloodiest battle ground we have ever had since the beginning of our American civilization." And what has been said of the situation of the Scotch-Irish in Cumberland Valley can with equal truth be said of their brethren of Derry and Paxton and Hanover Churches, just east of the Susquehanna, and in substantially the same valley, skirted on the west by the same Kittoctinny Mountain. The men of these congre-

* Rev. John Steel, minister of Upper West Conococheague Church, now Mercersburg.

gations were fully organized for defense under the leadership of the pastor of Paxton and Derry Churches, their intrepid captain, Rev. John Elder. "The Paxton boys" have made for themselves a name and place in history, which can never be obscured or dimmed by any attempt of the partisan historian to heap opprobrium upon them.

But some one may ask: "What has all this to do with Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism in Cumberland Valley?" We answer: Much every way. American Episcopal Methodism was not born at that time (not until 1766), much less the numerous Arminian branches of the Church, which are the legitimate outgrowth of Methodism. The Germans—comprising the Reformed and Lutheran and Mennonite Churches—and the Moravians dwelt with comparative security in the eastern part of the province. The fact is that at that time there were scarcely any living in Cumberland Valley except the "fighting Scotch-Irish Presbyterians" and a few of the Church of England people and of Rome.

In endeavoring to set forth some of the prominent characteristics of these people we would mention:

I. THEIR RELIGION.

What we have just said does not in the least militate against the idea that these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were a religious people. Without religion they could not have been true Presbyterians, and without grit they could not have been true Scotch-Irishmen. Not unlike many of their descendants, they belonged to the Church militant. Always, too, with a purpose to be triumphant.

The celerity with which, as we have seen, they organized Churches, and the manifest eagerness with which they sought to be supplied with the means of grace, bear ample testimony to their religious principles and character. Their religion was a prominent feature in their lives. The fact that they could participate in all its services without let or hindrance was to them a new experience and a new joy. Hence one of the first things they did, when settled in sufficient numbers in any locality, was to "supplicate Presbytery" to send ministers to preach to them, to administer the sacraments, and, not unfrequently, catechise their children. They attached great importance to the regular services of the sanctuary. They had high regard for the preached Word. This led them to secure as speedily as possible the settlement of pastors, and, with permission of Presbytery as to loca-

tion, erect houses of worship. These were generally log buildings with puncheon floors, rude seats, and no means of being heated. But here the Word was faithfully preached and attentively heard. These log churches gave way to more commodious and substantial buildings as the size of congregations increased and improved circumstances of the people warranted.

Many of these early settlers had to go five or six miles to church. Notwithstanding this, the Sabbath found them regularly in their places. Moreover, they went not to listen to a single thirty-minute discourse. The rule was two long sermons with an intermission of thirty or forty minutes. This intermission was no unimportant feature. During it the pastor repaired to the "study house," which stood near by, and the people assembled in groups about the spring; for, if possible, the Church was always located near a spring. The simple lunch was partaken of, and conversation was freely entered into—sometimes devout, sometimes otherwise. Of course the sermon had to have its share of attention. Their common dangers and their common blessings were recounted. And if unwittingly the conversation drifted into purely secular channels, and the crops and the weather and their business affairs and the affairs of their neighbors became the absorbing topics, it was perhaps pardonable, seeing their times were so different from ours. As we contemplate those scenes there was, to our mind, something very delightful about the comminglings and communings of the people. They were brought very near to each other. They were made to realize their oneness in relation to God, to his Church, to each other. In this way an intimate acquaintance was cultivated, and a strong bond of union was cemented, such as in many places are unknown in Church relation and life to-day.

Though Sabbath schools were unknown, the children were not overlooked or neglected. In the home they were carefully instructed in the principles of religion, and in particular were they faithfully drilled in the Shorter Catechism. The Sabbath evening home instruction and the annual public examination and instruction by the pastor caused them to be well versed in the doctrines of the Word of God and of the Church. Through this system of instruction they came in possession of religious intelligence, and were imbued with sound principles. Thus was laid the foundation of strong characters as they came to the years of manhood and womanhood, and thus were they fitted to

act well their part in Church and in society. A large proportion of the men thus reared in this region have shown themselves strong men—strong men in business vocations, in the learned professions, upon the bench, and in public and political affairs alike of State and of nation. Were there none but the children of Christian families to be looked after and provided for, we should to-day, with all the light that observation and experience have thrown upon the subject, say that the old was in many respects better than the new. But viewed in the light of existing facts and circumstances, with numbers of otherwise uncared-for children in nonchristian homes in every community, we regard the Sabbath school as one of the greatest blessings and one of the most potent agencies for good known in the Christian Church. We rejoice in the good work being accomplished by it, though it be not free from imperfections.

In the early history of the Presbyterian Church in this country the ministers and Churches of this region occupied a conspicuous and important place. In the Synod of Philadelphia, after the formation of the Synod of New York in 1745, almost one-half the ministers were members of the Presbytery of Donegal. At the meetings of the first General Assembly, in 1789, almost one-fourth of the ministers present were from the Presbytery of Carlisle, which had, in 1786, been formed from part of the Presbytery of Donegal. The first three General Assemblies were held in Philadelphia. The fourth was held in Carlisle, and Rev. John King, D.D., a member of the Presbytery of Carlisle and pastor of Mercersburg Church, was chosen Moderator. The sixth General Assembly (1795) was also held in Carlisle, and Rev. John McKnight, D.D., was chosen Moderator. At this time Dr. McKnight was collegiate pastor to Rev. Dr. John Rodgers, pastor of the Collegiate Churches in the city of New York. But he was a son of the Presbytery of Carlisle—was born near the town of Carlisle, licensed and ordained by the Presbytery, and had spent six years as pastor of two of its Churches (Lower Marsh Creek and Tom's Creek) before going to New York. In 1809 he returned to the Presbytery, and subsequently filled the positions of pastor of Rocky Spring Church and President of Dickinson College. Among its ministers, in addition to those just named, were men who left their impress upon the Church not only at that time, but for all subsequent time—such

men as Nisbet, Davidson, Cooper, Duffield, Elder, Snodgrass, Craighead, Thompson, McMordie, Blair, and others.

The Presbyterianism of Cumberland Valley, viewed from a doctrinal standpoint, has from its earliest history been very decidedly of the character generally designated "orthodox." It has always honored the Word of God as of supreme authority in all matters of religious faith and practice. It has at the same time steadfastly held and firmly maintained the doctrines set forth in the standards of the Presbyterian Church, as taught in the Word of God. This statement holds good not only in regard to periods of harmony and quiet in the Church, but likewise in regard to the unhappy periods of discord and strife—and sometimes of division too—which lie along the pathway of our history. During the old side and new side controversy of one hundred and fifty and more years ago no portion of the Church was more deeply agitated than that found in this region. Derry and Paxton Churches were rent, and each party had its own pastor. The same was true of Upper Pennsboro (Carlisle). Upper West Conococheague (Mercersburg) was divided, resulting in the organization of Lower West Conococheague (Welsh Run). The plowshare of division so effectually rent East Conococheague (Green Castle) Church that the breach was not healed till after the opening of the following century. And, the prevailing sentiment of the Presbytery being old side, three of the Churches which were new side in their sentiments got clear outside the Presbytery, and were served by the distinguished Dr. John Blair, of New Castle Presbytery. I refer to Big Spring, Middle Spring, and Rocky Spring. But this unhappy contention and strife and division did not affect the doctrinal views of either party. Both were equally ready to subscribe to the same declaration of their faith, and to maintain and defend the doctrines of the Church.*

Both parties joined in subscribing what they termed: "A Formula wherein to subscribe and adopt the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms." I here insert it. It is an "iron-clad" document:

"I, having seriously read and perused the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, do declare in the sight of God and all here present, that I do believe and am persuaded that so far as I can discern and understand said Confession and Catechisms,

* For instance, the "Adopting Act" of 1729, and the "Declaration," 1736.

they are in all things agreeable to the Word of God, taken in the plain and obvious sense and meaning of the word—and accordingly I do acknowledge them as the confession of my faith, and do promise through divine assistance forever to adhere thereto. I also believe the Directory for the exercise of worship, discipline, and government, commonly annexed to the Confession, to be agreeable to the Word of God, and do promise to conform thereunto in my practice as far as in emergent circumstances I can attain unto.”

If we turn to the unhappy division of 1838, by which the Presbyterian Church was rent into the old and new school bodies, we find the same unity of doctrine existing among the Presbyterians of Cumberland Valley and adjacent country. Both parties were loyal to the standards of the Church, and both parties were distinct and emphatic in their utterances to this effect. No one questioned the attitude of the old school men; and the old school men put on record the following words concerning their new school brethren who went out from the Presbytery of Carlisle: “We are not disposed to call in question their orthodoxy.” And the New School Presbytery of Harrisburg, at its second meeting, held May 19, 1840, declared that “its members received and adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures.” And by way of emphasis they added the following, which makes interesting reading just now, when Confessional revision is so conspicuously in the air: “No one can honestly subscribe these standards, or remain in the Church after subscribing them, who is conscious of holding any opinions at variance with the system of truth therein exhibited.”

And when, in the good providence of God, the time came for considering and voting upon the basis of reunion between the two branches of the Church, we find the two Presbyteries of Carlisle and Harrisburg occupying substantially the same platform. In their desire for and action looking to reunion they were in advance of the general Church. At the October meeting, 1867, the Presbytery of Carlisle adopted the following declaration: “We say from the depth of our hearts that we desire reunion with the other branch; and we rejoice to know that we are coming closer and closer together on the great and glorious distinctive features of doctrine and polity which are embraced in the Con-

fession of Faith. No other reunion than this is worthy the name of union. It would be a union in form and not in spirit. Alienations and divisions and jealousies would be the fruit of it." And the Presbytery of Harrisburg, in session the same month, adopted the following: "We distinctly protest against any formal basis for such an arrangement [as reunion] other than an honest subscription to the Confession of Faith, such as was given by all officers of our Church at the time of their ordination; and that we regard no subscription to our standards as fair and honest which implies the acceptance of its articles merely for substance of doctrine, or in any sense contrary to the appropriate historical significance, as opposed to antinomianism and fatalism on the one hand, and to Arminianism and Pelagianism on the other."

In the foregoing there is no uncertain sound. And what has been said as touching the loyalty of the Presbyterianism of the past in this region to the standards of the Church may, with equal propriety, be said of the Presbyterianism of the present. It is true that on that important question, "Do you desire a revision of the Confession of Faith?" which so absorbingly occupies the mind of the Presbyterian Church to-day, there exists diversity of sentiment among the ministers, and to a certain, though less, extent among the ruling elders and people of this region. There are those who would be well content that our standards should remain as they are, and these are largely in the majority. And there are others who would be glad to see changes made in the mode of stating important doctrines, so as to obviate obscurity and remove the possibility of misunderstanding and misrepresentation. But whilst there exists this diversity of opinion upon the question of revision, honestly held and manfully expressed, there is scarcely any diversity of sentiment in regard to the Confession of Faith, as containing the system of doctrine which we receive and hold and teach.

II. EDUCATION.

We should be derelict of duty did we fail to give in this paper a place of prominence to the subject of education.

Calvinism is the friend of education—of free education, of liberal education, of higher and the highest education. Bancroft says that John Calvin was the father of popular education and the inventor of the system of free schools. The Scotch-Irish settlers of Cumberland Valley were the disciples of John Calvin

and of his pupil, John Knox. The late Rev. Joseph Vance, D.D., for a number of years pastor of the First Church, Carlisle, has well said* that, "true to their principles and their traditions, they carried the lamp of learning into the wilderness." In this connection Dr. Vance quotes Rev. Dr. George R. Crooks, of the M. E. Church, as saying of these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians: "Their story has as yet been but imperfectly told. They were the founders of the schools of learning of the Middle States. They carried in their minds the ideals of a lofty civilization, and amid the rigors of the frontier life established beginnings of the culture which adorns society in the most advanced stages. The shaping of the liberal culture of the Middle States was in their hands." This is high but well-merited praise.

Their ministers were educated men. To this we know of no exception. Their people were intelligent, and were not content that their children should be without the advantages of education. The newness of the country and their privations and hardships must not stand as a barrier. As a rule the school-house was found hard by the sanctuary. Here the rudimental branches of education and the Shorter Catechism were faithfully taught. Text-books were few and far from perfect. But careful preparation and thorough mastery of whatever was undertaken were demanded. In this way education in the true sense—that of drawing out and unfolding the mental and moral powers—was secured.

Nor were they satisfied that the advantages of the parish school alone should be enjoyed. Higher institutions of learning, academies, were established at various points—Harrisburg, Gettysburg, Carlisle, Shippensburg, Hagerstown, and somewhat later at Chambersburg and Newburg (Hopewell Academy).

Almost a century and a quarter ago (1783) was founded, mainly by Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and located at Carlisle, Dickinson College, an institution which, in point of character and influence, was well-nigh, if not quite, the equal of Nassau Hall, Princeton, in the earlier days of these two schools of learning. Perhaps the most prominent among the promoters of the founding of the college were Dr. Benjamin Rush and John Dickinson. The feeling existed that it should be located in the midst of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, upon whom it must

* Cent. Memorial, Pres. Carlisle.

mainly depend for success. Dr. Rush said: "A college at Carlisle will necessarily fall into the hands of the Presbyterians. . . . Let all the trustees, the principal, and the professors be Presbyterians."

Had this original idea been carried out, Dickinson College might be a Presbyterian institution to-day. But politics and various considerations in regard to other than Presbyterian denominations entering in, it was abandoned; and in the Board of Trustees there must be "Constitutionalist" and "Republican" politicians, Old Side and New Side Presbyterians, English Churchmen and Lutherans. In other words the institution was thus almost entirely shorn of its denominational character. With a Board of Trustees thus constituted, when divided sentiment existed in the Presbyterian Church prior to the Old and New School rupture, and when this divided sentiment was especially acute at Carlisle and in Dickinson College, the institution was permitted, in 1833, to slip wholly beyond Presbyterian control, and to fall into the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dickinson College, after many a hard struggle, is now, under denominational control, a success. We can call to mind no institution in this region not under denominational control and having denominational backing that has enjoyed its otherwise proper meed of prosperity and success. Of course educational institutions under State control and receiving State support are not included.

We would here speak of a fact relating to Princeton Theological Seminary, which may properly be called to mind on an occasion such as this. The fitness of the location, the character of the people, the prominence of their leaders, the strength and influence of their Churches led the General Assembly, well-nigh a century ago, to turn their thoughts to the town (Chambersburg) in which we are assembled as a suitable place to locate its first theological seminary. Dr. Archibald Alexander, in the "Log College," says: "There was much diversity of opinion respecting the most eligible site for the institution. Between Princeton, N. J., and Chambersburg, Pa., the chief competition existed." The question of location was discussed in the General Assembly of 1811, with no other result than the adoption of a resolution that it should be between the rivers Raritan and Potomac. In the General Assembly of 1812 the subject was under discussion three consecutive days. Finally, on the third day

(May 28), to quote the words of the Assembly Records, "After considerable discussion and special prayer for direction on the important subject the resolution, which was pending, was adopted, and is as follows—viz.:

"*'Resolved*, That Princeton be the site of the theological seminary, leaving the subject open as to its permanency, agreeably to the stipulation agreed upon by the joint committees of the last Assembly and the trustees of the College of New Jersey.' "

The wording of this resolution shows that even after special prayer for direction the question was not decided on the strength of the merits of the respective places, but on the strength of special inducements held out by the College of New Jersey. The following year the General Assembly made the location at Princeton permanent. Thus the first theological seminary of the Presbyterian Church was lost to Chambersburg. But if Princeton carried off the palm, and can boast the oldest and strongest school of the prophets, Chambersburg, her vanquished rival of that day, can at this day point to an institution located in her midst for the education of the daughters of the Church, of which not only she but the whole Presbyterian Church may justly be proud. We refer to Wilson College for Young Ladies. Its students outnumber those of Princeton Theological Seminary more than two to one, and it would be ungallant and ungracious to institute a comparison in point of character and worth which would not give to Wilson the preference. This institution is beautifully located on the bank of the East Conococheague; and in point of buildings, equipment, and faculty deserves to take rank, as it is fast coming to do, with institutions of like character occupying the forefront in our country.

Cumberland Valley to-day is studded with educational institutions. Leaving Harrisburg, with its long-established and successful Boys' Academy, we have at Mechanicsburg Irving College for Young Ladies; at Carlisle, Dickinson College, coeducational, Metzger College for Young Ladies, and the Indian Training School; at Shippensburg, the State normal school of that name; at Scotland, the State Industrial School; at Chambersburg, Wilson College for Young Ladies, and Chambersburg Academy for Boys; at Mercersburg, an academy of that name for boys; and, if we pass five miles beyond Mason and Dixon's line, at Hagerstown, Keemar College for Young Ladies. Thus in the beautiful and fertile Cumberland Valley, seventy or seven-

ty-five miles in length, lying between the Susquehanna and the Potomac Rivers, and skirted on one side and the other by the Kittochtinny and South Mountains, we have eleven high-grade educational institutions, nearly all of them in a highly prosperous condition, aggregating an estimated number of students exceeding 3,000.

Among those engaged in educational work in Cumberland Valley at an early day were men whose names are familiar in the history of the Church at large—*e. g.*, Rev. Charles Nisbet, D.D., Rev. William Neil, D.D., Rev. Robert Davidson, D.D., Rev. John M. Mason, D.D., Presidents of Dickinson College; Rev. Henry R. Wilson, D.D., Rev. Alexander McClelland, D.D., John Cooper, Rev. James Ross, LL.D., Rev. James McConaughey, D.D., LL.D.

No less prominent are the names of educators who went out from this Valley, or the Presbytery covering it. There was Rev. John McMillan, D.D., the pioneer of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania and the founder of Jefferson College, Canonsburg, licensed in this town June 19, 1776. Alongside his name may be placed that of Rev. Matthew Brown, D.D., LL.D., first President of Washington College, Pennsylvania, licensed in October, 1799. In 1780 Rev. Hezekiah Balch, D.D., went to Tennessee, and founded Greeneville College. West Tennessee College, Jackson, was presided over by Rev. James Holmes, D.D., born in Carlisle. Rev. David Elliott, D.D., LL.D., went from Mercersburg to Washington, Pa. Thence was transferred to Allegheny by the General Assembly as the first professor in Western Theological Seminary. Rev. James Kennedy filled a professor's chair in Jefferson College. Rev. John Nevin, D.D., LL.D., born at Shippensburg, was for a time professor in Western Theological Seminary, and subsequently President of Marshall College, afterwards of Franklin and Marshall College, and professor in the Reformed Theological Seminary. Rev. Alexander T. McGill, D.D., LL.D., filled professors' chairs in Western Theological and Princeton Theological Seminaries. Rev. George Junkin, D.D., President of Miami University, Lafayette College, and Washington (now Washington and Lee) College, Virginia. Rev. John T. Duffield, D.D., of Princeton University, who has just recently passed away. Of those of more recent date, occupying prominent places in educational institutions, we might mention the names of Rev. William M. Paxton, D.D., LL.D., of

Princeton Theological Seminary; Rev. Thomas H. Robinson, D.D., of Western Theological Seminary; Rev. John DeWitt, D.D., LL.D., of Princeton Theological Seminary; Rev. S. Stanhope Orris, Ph.D., L.H.D., of Princeton University.

III. PATRIOTISM.

When in the history of the colonies the time came for resisting by force the wrongs and oppression of the mother country, and for proclaiming themselves free and independent States, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of Cumberland Valley played no unimportant part. One of old Donegal Presbytery sons, Rev. Hezekiah James Balch, took a prominent part in the Mecklenburg convention, which met in Charlotte, N. C., in May, 1775. That convention was composed of twenty-seven stanch Calvinists, besides himself, one-third of whom were Presbyterian elders. Mr. Balch was not only a member of the convention, but was one of a committee of three who drew up the famous Mecklenburg Declaration, which antedated the Declaration of Independence more than one year, and embodied many of its leading features. Indeed, there is not lacking strong internal evidence that when he penned the Declaration of Independence Thomas Jefferson had before him the Mecklenburg Declaration. In it there was a bold challenge to the power of England. Bancroft says that in effect it was more than a simple declaration of independence; that it embodied a complete system of government. Mr. Balch was licensed by the Presbytery of Donegal on the 20th of April, 1768, and on the 16th of November the following year was ordained and installed pastor of Rock River and Poplar Tent Churches in North Carolina by the same Presbytery, by virtue of its far-reaching authority and power of that day. It is to be kept in mind also that many of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians amongst whom Mr. Balch labored were from the same region of country. In writing of this period Rev. Dr. William Henry Foote, in "Sketches of Virginia," says: "After the choice locations in Pennsylvania and Maryland were filled up the emigrants crossed the Potomac and stretched rapidly to the Catawba, along the frontiers in Virginia and North Carolina." This affords an interesting glimpse of the far-reaching influence of early Cumberland Valley Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism.

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of Cumberland Valley furnished two signers of the Declaration of American Independ-

ence : James Smith, of Shippensburg, belonging to Middle Spring Congregation, and James Wilson, a trustee of the First Presbyterian Church, Carlisle. Wilson was regarded as perhaps the most able and eminent lawyer in the whole country at that time. He was a member of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, in 1787, and chairman of the committee which reported it to the convention. Two years later President Washington appointed him a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Wilson was a warm personal and political friend of John Dickinson. Dickinson was unfavorable to the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, in 1776. It was not the question of principle but of expediency as to time that led him to oppose it. Nevertheless, opposition on any ground has caused, in the estimation of unthinking persons, a shadow to fall on the fair name of Dickinson. There was, however, no truer patriot than he. But he felt that further effort at conciliation ought to be made before resorting to arms. All along to this point Wilson had stood with Dickinson, as over against those under the leadership of Adams, who were considered rash. But when the crucial period for adopting or rejecting the Declaration arrived, Wilson cast the vote which threw the Pennsylvania delegation in favor of the adoption of the Declaration. The geographical position and the population of Pennsylvania caused this to be of the utmost importance. Had the vote been adverse, what the immediate result would have been no one can tell. The conflict and struggle might have been delayed, but could not have been averted.

No sooner had the tongue of old Liberty Bell announced, on the 4th of July, 1776, the signing of the Declaration of Independence than the tidings were swiftly borne to all parts of the colonies. At once the whole Cumberland Valley was aglow with the spirit of patriotism. For a full century before being transplanted to the virgin soil of America the Presbyterianism which found its way to this region had been trained in the hard school of experience to hate wrong and oppression. The Church polity under which its people had been reared made them the natural foes of usurpation and the friends and advocates of human rights. It inculcated the principle of representation in Church government ; and, by parity of reasoning, in civil government as well. They were prepared to hail with joy the news that the colonies

had been declared free and independent States. From every pulpit rang out no uncertain sound. Soon at the head of the men of their respective congregations, as captains, were Rev. John Steel, pastor at Carlisle, Rev. John Craighead, pastor at Rocky Spring, and Rev. Robert Cooper, of Middle Spring. In every town and hamlet and district meetings were held, enrollments took place, and in an incredibly short time all able-bodied men of the Valley held themselves in readiness to go forth to the scenes of conflict in defense and maintenance of the long-cherished but newly proclaimed principles.

By their conflicts with the Indians in their hostile incursions and during the French and Indian war they had become inured to the privations and hardships and perils of warfare; so that they went forth not after the manner of raw recruits, but as well-drilled and hardy veterans. Nor were they without skilled and experienced leaders and commanders, whom they knew and whom they could trust. In a paper such as this, with our limited space, we may not, on the one hand, enter on a detailed sketch of these heroic men, whilst on the other we dare not fail to make mention of some of the more prominent of their number.*

To commence with one whose home was near by, Col. Joseph Armstrong, of Hamilton Township (then Cumberland, now Franklin, County), who was a member of the Colonial Assemblies of 1756, 1757, and 1758, raised a battalion in Hamilton, Letterkenny, and Lurgan Townships, said by tradition to have been the flower of the Valley, brave, hardy, and resolute Presbyterians, nearly all members of the old Rocky Spring Church. Then there was Col. John Montgomery, born in Carlisle and an elder in the Presbyterian Church, at the head of one of the two regiments raised in Cumberland County in what was known as the "Flying Camp." Col. Ephraim Blaine, of near Carlisle, great-grandfather of the late James G. Blaine, known and honored throughout the land, held the responsible position of commissary general in the Northern department of the army. Gen. William Thompson, whose home was near Carlisle, a valiant soldier, had command of the expedition sent into Canada, was taken prisoner at the battle of Three Rivers, and was held until 1780. With him was Gen. William Irvine, also of Carlisle, who

* For much of the material here used we are indebted to the admirable pen portraiture by Rev. Dr. Norcross, in Vol. II. of "Centennial Memorial of Pres. of Carlyle."

shared a like fortune of war in the same battle, and was held prisoner until 1778. Gen. James Potter, a native of Ireland, whose home was near Shippensburg, served throughout the revolutionary war. His grandson, Andrew G. Curtain, was Pennsylvania's "War Governor" during our unhappy civil conflict of more than a generation ago. Gen. James Chambers, son of Col. Benjamin Chambers, founder of Chambersburg, served throughout the war. He also commanded one of the three Pennsylvania brigades that were sent to suppress the Whisky Rebellion. Gen. Hugh Mercer, whose home was originally near the town of Mercersburg, Franklin County, and after whom the town was named by its founder, William Smith, accompanied Gen. Forbes in the Duquesne expedition of the French and Indian war.* With intrepid fortitude he led the attack in the battle of Trenton, Christmas day, 1776; and a few days later was mortally wounded in the battle of Princeton. There were many other heroic leaders whose names we should like to mention, but we must desist. Under such leadership the Scotch-Irish of Cumberland Valley gained for themselves an undying reputation as patriots and soldiers.

Up to this period the Germans were not numerous in this Valley. But among those who were here a like spirit of patriotism existed, and they were found, with their Scotch-Irish brethren, contending for civil liberty.

It does not fall within my province to speak of the men of Cumberland Valley who have adorned alike the bench and the bar; nor of the business men who have been prominent and successful in commercial, manufacturing, and railroad pursuits; nor of the sturdy husbandmen who have been called from following the plow to adorn the halls of legislation, State and national; nor of the President of our country, James Buchanan, who was born and reared within twenty miles of this place, and who filled the chair of State in a most trying period of our country's history; nor of another President, Benjamin Harrison, who has just recently passed away, whose mother, Miss Elizabeth Irvine, daughter of Archibald Irvine, was also born and reared within twenty miles of this place. Both the Buchanan and the Irvine families were thoroughgoing Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, belonging to the Mercersburg congregation.

*In the revolutionary war he was a valiant soldier and an able commander, but his career was short.

There is no position, no profession, no vocation, no walk of life that has not been filled with honor by Scotch-Irish Presbyterian settlers of Cumberland Valley and their descendants. And may it not be said, in bringing this paper to a conclusion, that in all these various relations in life this Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism has left an indelible impress of sound conservatism—of stable progressiveness—which is felt not only here, but largely throughout our land? There have been no more steadfast and at the same time energetic and progressive people anywhere to be found. They may be regarded as occupying an important position and holding an important trust as relates alike to their own Church and to the political and sociological affairs of the nation, whether viewed in the light of the present or the future. They are sometimes charged with being slow to accept what are termed advanced ideas and to adopt new and untried expedients. This is in a measure true, but the imputation is too sweeping except in the case of certain pseudo-conservatives. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that recklessly cutting loose from the tried and known, and boldly launching out into the untried and unknown, do not necessarily mean progress. To do so may bode no good. "*Festina lentè.*"

As I look over this fair land of ours to-day, with all its possibilities, as I ponder its strength and its weakness, its promises and its perils, as I mark the tendencies of the times in business, in politics, in sociology, in religion, as I study the trend of government in its home and foreign policies, as I scan the gathering and churning and concentrating of contending elements, I am persuaded of the great need of true conservatism. Nor do I hesitate in this or any other presence to express the firm conviction that among the most influential and powerful conservators of our free institutions, civil and religious, and standing in the foremost rank, are the men whose characters bear the impress of the early Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism of this region. Our forefathers who settled here did not all remain, nor did their descendants all continue in the Presbyterian fold. Not a few are to be found among the strong conservative men of sister denominations. They were a pioneer people. Many of them pushed westward just as rapidly as treaty stipulations with the aborigines permitted. The children of old mother Cumberland Valley, with their worldly all on pack horses, followed the Indian trail or the trader's path across the mountains, and in the name

of their God took possession of Western Pennsylvania, and their descendants hold it to-day. And not only so; but they are making a rich return in the laborers they are sending back. There are at present fifteen pastors of Presbyterian Churches in Cumberland Valley, nine of whom and a college president hail from Western Pennsylvania.*

From Western Pennsylvania still onward they pushed toward the setting sun, joining the ever-flowing stream of emigration from the parent source, until they are everywhere to be found throughout the great central West and Southwest. In like manner the tide of emigration flowed southward. Why, the old Presbytery of Donegal collected into congregations her sons and daughters and settled pastors over them in Maryland and Virginia, and even extended her motherly care to those who had found homes in North Carolina. Tennessee and Kentucky in like manner received their quota of this leavening element.

In all these sections of country, occupied largely by the descendants of our common ancestors, the type of our early Presbyterianism has been preserved in the Churches. Its features alike in doctrine and polity remain unchanged. And in civil and social affairs, wherever Presbyterianism of the Scotch-Irish type is found, it stands for liberty, for law, and for order. It combines the ideas of true conservatism and genuine radicalism. It stands as a mighty bulwark against a false radicalism which will not brook curb and restraint, and is the uncompromising enemy and steadfast opposer of everything that partakes of the character of infringement on the rights of the people, whether in matters of Church or of State.

May we not truthfully say that from this center has gone out over a large portion of our land a conservative influence which, under God, may at least prove a potent factor in saving us alike from the whirlpool and the rock, and may make our land, holding aloft the torch of civil and religious liberty, more glorious and radiant in the ages to come than in the past?

* Rev. George Norcross, D.D., William A. McCarrell, D.D., Thomas C. McCarrell, S. S. Wylie, A. N. Hagerty, Thomas J. Sherrard, James G. Rose, L. Carmon Bell, George Fulton, and Rev. S. A. Martin, D.D., President of Wilson College.

THE PATHS AND ROADS OF OUR FOREFATHERS.

BY JOHN M. COOPER, ESQ., CHAMBERSBURG, PA.

THE subject I have been requested to deal with requires me to follow the footsteps of the Scotch-Irish early settlers of Pennsylvania from the Brandywine to the Cumberland Valley, to point out the direction taken by such of them or their decendants as may have gone to other parts, and to speak of the paths and roads by which they came and went. Perhaps this can be done to the best advantage by glancing at the formation of various counties in our provincial period and the first few years of our now splendidly developed commonwealth, a period which history will recognize as our heroic age.

Soon after William Penn arrived, in October, 1682, he organized three counties and named them, respectively, Chester, Philadelphia, and Bucks. Each had the Delaware for its eastern boundary. Chester was the most southerly of the group, and Bucks the most northerly, Philadelphia lying between them. The limits westward were not clearly defined, but Chester is supposed to have had jurisdiction in all the territory westward till the year 1729, when Lancaster was organized. This limited Chester to the territory east of her western line as it stands now, and made Lancaster her successor to the west. In 1749 York was set off from Lancaster, with the South Mountain for her boundary on the west, and in 1750 Cumberland was created, with limits embracing more than half the territory of the province. Her boundaries were the Maryland and Virginia line, the South Mountain, the Susquehanna up into what is now Snyder County, thence a line drawn northwestward to New York, about where the counties of McKean and Warren join, and thence westward to the limits of the province in that direction. About half the present counties of the State lie within these limits, and on account of her numerous progeny the affectionate title of "Old Mother Cumberland" has been bestowed upon her. She remained the territorial queen till Bedford carried off the larger part of her territory in 1771, to be herself similarly shorn by

Westmoreland in 1773. Washington followed in 1781; Fayette, in 1783; Franklin, in 1784; Dauphin, in 1785; Huntingdon, in 1787; and Allegheny, in 1788. These were the counties that covered the Scotch-Irish belt in early years, and on this classic ground it is to be hoped descendants of our early settlers will be found forever. But the Scotch-Irish did not occupy all this ground. There were strong German settlements in Lancaster, York, and Dauphin, and others not so strong in Cumberland, and the strength of this element has been steadily increasing.

The only paths in this part of the world when Europeans began to settle here must have been such as were made by wild beast and wild men. These may have been of some use to the early settlers, and the more important of them may have pointed out the direction in which wider paths, and finally roads, might best be made. From settlement to settlement there would necessarily be a leading path, and every settler whose cabin lay off from it would have to provide for himself a "bridle path" which would put him in communication with it. The principal paths of early days were those known as "packers' paths." They served the purposes of traders with the Indians at first, and subsequently, even down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, were used for travel and transportation between the Cumberland Valley and the region west of it. The common roads crept slowly after the paths, but did not speedily supersede them in the mountainous sections; but as population increased and settlement extended, and the volume of traffic grew large, and wealth accumulated, turnpike roads, canals, and finally railroads were constructed, and then on all leading routes the packers' paths and common roads were abandoned.

The paths and roads of our forefathers were so numerous, and so many of them have been totally obliterated, that no attempt to detail them can be undertaken. Where they lay and the general direction in which they ran can best be indicated by following the line of Scotch-Irish emigration from the Delaware westward.

When the earliest of the Scotch-Irish immigrants arrived in Chester County, in the early years of the eighteenth century, they found that part of it adjacent to the Delaware occupied by Swedes, by Dutch, and by English members of the Society of Friends. They located to the west of these, filling up what is

now the western part of Chester. Others, coming in after them, passed into what is now the southern part of Lancaster and the southeastern part of York, some of them keeping on up the eastern margin of the Susquehanna to Dauphin, and eventually farther up. Still others passed through the German settlement in the heart of York, and planted themselves in what is now Adams County.

McCall's ferry, near where Chester and Lancaster Counties come together at the Susquehanna, Wright's ferry at Columbia, Anderson's at Marietta, and Simpson's (or Chambers's) and Harris's at Harrisburg, were ferries over which the early settlers passed into York and Cumberland Counties. There were a few fordable points when the water was low, the best of them being at Harris's location, and during the short season in which the fords were available they were used and ferriage saved. In 1735 the Provincial Council ordered viewers to be appointed to lay out a public road from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna at Harris's, and this is understood to have been the first public road that led up to this valley from the Delaware. The Indian title to the land between the North and South Mountains was purchased in 1736, and then the tide that had been flowing up both sides of the Susquehanna swept into the Cumberland Valley through its open end at the river, and through various gaps in the South Mountain, filling it up rapidly. The mountains bounding it on the northwest arrested the tide (for the lands beyond them had not been purchased from the Indians), but it splashed over in places, giving so much dissatisfaction to the red men that the provincial authorities took energetic measures to confine it within proper limits.

There was so much room in this valley that immigrants seeking homes could readily find them here for many years after the earliest came in, and this rendered encroachments upon unpurchased Indian lands entirely inexcusable. But whenever and wherever the wedge of civilization has been driven into savage shores it has split its way inward; and so, after a brief pause on the western verge of the Cumberland Valley, the tide of emigration resumed its flow in the direction of the setting sun, branching off, however, both northward and southward. Scotch-Irish passed from this valley up the Juniata, and up the Susquehanna to the junction of its two great branches and across into

what is now Center County as well as southward to Virginia, Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. But the great majority climbed over the mountains westward, scattering themselves to the right and the left in an irregular and constantly widening column, which finally reached the "Forks of the Ohio," and plunged into the wilds beyond. So wide has been the distribution of Scotch-Irish from this valley that, going no farther out than from brother and sister to cousins, the writer of this paper can count his own kindred in sixteen States of the Union. They are scattered from the Atlantic shore of Virginia to the mouth of the Columbia.

Of course bridle paths came with the early settlers here, and were followed as soon as practicable by common roads. The ordinary paths were long ago obliterated, but the great packers' paths, which stretched from this valley to Western Pennsylvania, is still distinctly visible at various points of its long and tortuous course. Branch paths connected with it on both sides of its course through the mountains, and it emptied the products of the West into the valley through branches terminating at the Gap, four miles from Mercersburg; at Loudon, fourteen miles west of Chambersburg; and at Strasburg and Roxbury, still farther along the mountain as it ranges northeastward. It is very distinctly visible in the Gap referred to, where it passed westward from the log house in which the fifteenth President of the United States was born in 1791; and a traveler up the turnpike to Pittsburg may see traces of it at many points on his journey. As he views the rocky steeps up which it climbed to gain the mountain tops, he will be filled with increased admiration and regard for that noble animal, the horse, who shared the toils and privations of our forefathers. Such products as the West had to send to market came eastward over this path, and coffee, salt, tinware, iron pots, and bar iron went westward over it, the bar iron being bent to fit across the pack saddle and hang down the sides of the horse.

Though a common road was made westward from the Cumberland Valley early in the second half of the eighteenth century, this packers' path continued to be used down into the nineteenth century, possibly well on to the construction of the great turnpike road in 1817, when both the path and the common road went entirely out of use, except in spots where they may for

a time and for short distances have served local purposes. Remains of both are still to be seen, sometimes close along the turnpike, and sometimes a mile or more distant from it. The old road crossed the Raystown branch of the Juniata at what is called the "Old Crossing," between one and two miles downstream from the turnpike, and about forty miles west of Chambersburg. There was a bridge of a single span over the river, which is wider at this point than at the turnpike. It is said to have been a chain bridge, and it is further said that the chains were of long links made by blacksmiths of the vicinity. George Washington, when President, passed over this bridge on his return from Bedford to Philadelphia at the time of the "Whisky Insurrection," in 1794. The two abutments of the bridge were still standing and in good condition till about twenty-eight years ago, when, unfortunately, the one on the west side, which was the larger of the two, was removed and used to build a milldam.

This old road, like all the common roads of an early date in mountainous or hilly countries, had heavy grades. In some places it ran up over the tops of hills so steep that the team was unable to draw the loaded wagon. In cases of this kind, if there were not two teams together, the wagoner was obliged to take off half his load at the foot of the hill, haul the remainder up and unload it, drive back for what had been left, load it up, haul it to the top, and reload what he had taken off there. Then he could go on his way rejoicing until he found it necessary to repeat this laborious and time-consuming operation. When they could so arrange it, two wagons would get together at these places and the horses of both would be hitched to one, and when this had been drawn up, both teams would return and draw up the other.

On numerous occasions persons have been known to speak of the carrying of old roads over the tops of hills instead of around them as evidences of a lack of judgment. These critics did not have a proper conception of the subject. Our forefathers acted wisely, and did the best they could. Men and money are needed to make roads, and the better roads are made, the more men and money it takes to make them. Roads cannot be made in boggy hollows between hills; and side-cutting, although the easiest kind of cutting, lengthens the distance and requires

double or triple the number of men and amount of money needed to make the old-fashioned road over the hill.

England was old and wealthy in the seventeenth century, when Penn received his grant from Charles II., and yet Macaulay describes his roads as wretched in the latter part of that century; and Arthur Young, who spent six months exploring them as late as the year 1770, did not find that they had been much improved. What wonder, then, that we did not have good roads here when our country was young and poor!

When public necessity required it and population and wealth justified the undertaking, turnpikes, as they are commonly called, superseded common roads as thoroughfares. Telford and Macadam were noted designers of turnpike roads. Both of them used broken stone; but whilst Telford laid a foundation of stones set on edge to support his broken stone, Macadam laid his broken stone directly on the ground, maintaining that the subsoil, if properly drained, would sustain any weight it would be called upon to bear. Telford's method (or one somewhat like it), which was the more expensive, is understood to have been employed in constructing our National road; whilst Macadam's was followed in making most, if not all, the other turnpike roads in this country.

The first loaded wagon that passed over the mountains on the National road is stated to have been drawn by four horses, and to have carried one ton of freight. The lightness of the load was of course due to the newness of the road, broken stone, before becoming crushed and compacted, affording poor footing for horses and offering strong resistance to wheels. After the turnpike from Chambersburg to Pittsburg had been worn solid and smooth a good team of four horses would take two tons or more over the mountains. The most common load for a fair six-horse team was three tons. This was sometimes exceeded by a ton. Once, however, it was so far exceeded that the extraordinary feat then performed became the talk of this town, and probably of all other towns on the road from Baltimore to Pittsburg. Between these two cities, about the year 1836, a team of six uncommonly fine horses drew a heavy wagon containing five tons of freight—"a hundred hundred," as the wagoners of that period put it. This team, like all others making the journey between these cities, had to cross ten mountains at

elevations not much below their highest points, and three others at moderate heights. Two were passed near water level—one a mile west of the ancient town of Bloody Run (now called Everett), and the other a mile east of Bedford.

Between the years 1820 and 1854 this old turnpike road must have been one of the busiest thoroughfares in the world outside of the great cities. From morning till night it was crowded with wagons, stagecoaches, carriages, travelers on horseback, droves of horses, cattle, sheep, and swine, and troops of German emigrants accompanying wagons carrying their effects—old men and women with little children on top of the high load on the wagon and young men, young women, boys and girls, tramping before or trailing after. Swine fattened for market were driven over this road from Ohio to Baltimore, a distance of more than three hundred miles, sometimes resting overnight on top of the Cove Mountain, only three miles from where they had started at its foot in the morning. If cattle made an average of ten miles a day and horses an average of twenty, they were thought to have done well. The most crowded portion of this turnpike lay west of the top of Siding Hill, where the old State road drew off the larger part of the live stock and carried it through Cumberland County, whence it found its way through various roads to York, Lancaster, Chester, and Philadelphia. Sixty houses at which entertainment for man and beast might be had could be counted between Chambersburg and Bedford, a distance of fifty-five miles, and houses of that kind were very numerous the whole length of the road.

This old turnpike, with its eastern connections to Baltimore and Philadelphia, was really of greater importance than the National road. Philadelphia and New York were the great commercial, manufacturing, and financial centers, and to these the merchants, bankers, and other business men of the West and Southwest found their way in large numbers. Many, too, who dwelt in Baltimore and went no farther north, came this way. The return trips were usually made over the same roads, and thus there was a constant stream in both directions. A large majority of the wagoners preferred the road through Pennsylvania to that through Maryland, and this preference, coupled with the influential fact that Pittsburg was the head of river navigation west of the mountains, caused a large portion

of the traffic between Baltimore and the West to pour through Chambersburg. The Philadelphia and Baltimore turnpikes came together in the heart of this town, but the distance to Baltimore (seventy-seven miles) was just half that to Philadelphia, and until the Cumberland Valley railroad made a considerable change in the westward current of Philadelphia trade much the larger portion of the goods carried to and from tide water was wagoned through Chambersburg. The completion of the railroad added to the travel, and to show how far-reaching this was, the writer will mention a fact within his own recollection. A coach which left Chambersburg for Pittsburg in the fall of 1845 carried an Englishman, a Welshman, and a Savoyard who spoke very good English, all of whom had recently landed at New York; and a New Orleans merchant, returning from Europe, who had come ashore at Boston and was journeying to Pittsburg, whence he would descend the Ohio and the Mississippi to the Crescent City. Our old turnpike was then a link in the route of travel between Europe and the extreme southwestern section of our own country.

The glory of the turnpike began to fade when the Pennsylvania railroad was completed, early in 1854. The coaches and wagons were soon withdrawn, and travel by private conveyance experienced a decline, and years ago had almost entirely ceased. Live stock continued to come, but in diminishing numbers as the railroad furnished increased facilities for its transportation, and with the final loss of this branch of its business, the old turnpike, which was at one time really of national importance, came down to a local road, merely serving the purposes of the people who lived along it.

In their heyday turnpikes had a stimulating effect upon the imaginations and ambitions of the boys along their lines. Town boys wanted to be stage drivers, and country boys wanted to be wagoners. Long after he had grown up, one of the latter told the writer of this paper the story of his boyish ambitions. His father was a farmer and innkeeper in Somerset County, at the point where the Glade turnpike, which joins ours four miles above Bedford, crosses the principal head stream of Stony Creek. A Franklin County team, whose owner and driver was of so amiable a disposition as to be a favorite with all who knew him, was starting for home from that point one pleasant morn-

ing, when several young men who happened not to have much to do at that time proposed to escort him to the summit of the Alleghany, quite a long walk. The landlord's son obtained permission to accompany them, and his story was, that, as he walked along and looked at the horses proudly stepping, and with apparent ease drawing the great wagon after them, he thought that if he lived to grow up to manhood, and could own and drive a team like that, the measure of his ambition would be full to overflowing. He lived to be Judge of the courts of Somerset, Bedford, and Franklin Counties, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and was Attorney-General of the United States when he related the story to me.

Much has been said and written about the view from the horseshoe bend on the Pennsylvania railroad west of Altoona. It is fine, but not at all comparable to any one of half a dozen views which may be had from this old turnpike road of ours. There are few journeys better worth taking than one over this ancient route of our Scotch-Irish ancestors, where the packers' path, the old Forbes road, and the turnpike road twist through the mountains, valleys, and coves, and coil around one another, from the Conococheague to the Forks of the Ohio. Every turn of the winding road reveals a picture unlike any seen before, and from the mountain tops the eye takes in numerous views in which the sublime and the beautiful are finely blended.

Quitting the paths and roads of our ancestors, let us devote a little time to a subject which this would seem to be an appropriate time and place to consider.

In this section expression has even been given in print to a long-standing impression that the Scotch-Irish settlers here and elsewhere in Pennsylvania were not good judges of land nor good farmers. This would imply that they were unintelligent, indolent, and unthrifty, which is precisely the reverse of what all well-informed persons know them to have been.

It is true that the earlier Scotch-Irish settlers in Pennsylvania did not get the best lands, but this was due to circumstances and not to deliberate choice. When they came ashore in the extreme southeastern corner of the province they found the lands inward from the Delaware for a considerable distance already occupied. This compelled them and others who came after them to move westward, and this westward movement caused

their location in the western part of Chester as that county stands at the present time, and subsequently up the Susquehanna on both sides, into Southern Lancaster and Southeastern York.

The Germans, coming at the same time and landing at Philadelphia, also moved westward, and this carried them into Central Lancaster, where the soil was richer and the surface nearer level than in the southern part of the county. Subsequently, when they needed more room, they crossed the river into Central York, where also the land was rich; and as the numbers of the Scotch-Irish increased they pushed in past the Germans and established settlements on the Conewago and Marsh Creeks, in what is now Adams County, but then was Lancaster. The Germans had agents who contracted for lands for them before they sailed, an arrangement from which they derived considerable advantage, as the lands contracted for were reserved for them.

But did the Scotch-Irish wear out the admittedly inferior lands upon which they settled in Chester, Lancaster, and York Counties? The two historians who joined in writing the sketch of Chester County for Dr. Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," printed in 1876, says: "The western part of the county is largely peopled by the descendants of the Scotch-Irish settlers, and the peculiarly energetic, positive, enterprising, and intellectual character of this people has descended from generation to generation. They are chiefly Presbyterians, and a large number of Churches of that denomination are scattered over this region." The same writers say: "Agriculture is the great business of the county, and a more intelligent, industrious, thrifty, and orderly set of farmers are not to be found in the State. They are largely the lineal descendants of the Welsh, English, and Scotch-Irish pioneers, and of the Germans."

Lancaster has long enjoyed the reputation of being the most productive county in the United States, and as her population is largely German her preëminence has been supposed by many to be due to this fact. Persons passing through here on the Pennsylvania railroad do not fail to observe the state of cultivation that prevails along this line. But inquire of reliable residents of Lancaster City who are thoroughly acquainted with the whole county, and the information will be elicited that the hilly southern portion, the ancient and the present home of the

Scotch-Irish, is the most productive and most highly improved part of the county.

Similar testimony has been given in relation to the southeastern portion of York County, into which the Scotch-Irish were thrown across McCall's ferry. There they found themselves on land said to have been denominated "barrens" because thin in soil, deficient in timber, and somewhat abundantly supplied with stones. What they accomplished there has already been recorded in the annals of the Scotch-Irish Society of America. In an interesting paper upon the "Scotch-Irish in York and Adams Counties," laid before the Congress at Harrisburg in 1896 by Grier Hersh, Esq., it is said of the so-called barrens, "However the name may have originated, it is now most inappropriate, for by skilled cultivation it was turned by our ancestors into the most fertile portion of York County," and it is added that their descendants are there unto this day.

People who, by the force of circumstances, were thrown upon inferior lands and yet worked out the splendid results produced by our forefathers and their descendants in Chester, Lancaster, and York Counties, are, as farmers and as men of intelligence, energy, and industry, above the reach of derogatory criticism.

It would be strange and unaccountable if the Scotch-Irish settlers in the Cumberland Valley were not as good farmers as their brethren of Chester, Lancaster, and York; and equally strange would it be if, having almost unlimited choice of good land, they should, without sufficient reason, have in any instance taken inferior land. The area of limestone land in the valley exceeds the area of slate and other thin soils, and, as a large majority of the earlier settlers were Scotch-Irish, it was optional with them whether to take the one or the other. The fact is, they took of each just as suited the fancy or the purpose of the individual who made the choice, and it cannot be shown that many of them chose unwisely. It is true that numbers of them located on the slate, and it is also true that many located on the limestone. Water being a prime necessity, as many as there was room for gathered at and along the great limestone springs, and springs being more numerous on the slate than on the limestone, and the slate extending westward, the general direction in which the tide of emigration was flowing, many went upon it also, not in

ignorance or from indolence, but with full knowledge and a fair expectation of working out favorable results.

And the results *were* favorable; for after the successful expedition of Gen. Forbes had changed Fort DuQuesne to Fort Pitt, and the "purchase of 1758" had thrown the lands between the Cumberland Valley and the Alleghany Mountain open to settlement; and still more, after the "purchase of 1768" had opened to settlement all the lands between that mountain and the western limits of the province, causing a strong tide of emigration to flow in that direction, the slate district became the scene of greatest activity. The passing emigrants used up and paid for all that the occupants of this district had to sell, so that, instead of carrying their surplus to market, the market was carried to their doors. They made money, and were able to educate their sons, and this may explain the fact stated in a paper laid before your Congress at Harrisburg in 1896, wherein a long list of distinguished sons and daughters of Franklin County was given, that a line drawn through the middle of the valley would leave nearly all of them to the west of it.

The Scotch-Irish were the first settlers on most of the limestone land in the valley. Is it a reflection upon their judgment or their character as farmers that many of them sold these lands and went farther west? It is not. Through the operation of inquiring minds and quick intelligence they early discovered that in the region now covered by Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington, and Allegheny Counties there was deeper, smoother, and richer soil than in the Cumberland Valley. It was, moreover, abundantly watered by springs, and well set with valuable timber, besides being underlaid with coal of the best quality. And this highly desirable land, with its great store of agricultural, mineral, and arboreal wealth, was to be had at the low price then demanded for unsettled and unimproved lands. Some of it, claimed by Virginia but surrendered to Pennsylvania under the agreement which established the Mason and Dixon line, was taken up under Virginia warrants at five cents per acre and even less. During the period in which Virginia claimed that region George Washington had established a "hatchet" title to a fine tract in the county which now bears his name—that is, with a hatchet he had marked trees around a tract he desired to secure.

His title was recognized, and he afterwards sold the land for something over thirteen thousand dollars.

Availing themselves of the knowledge they had obtained of the fine country beyond the mountains, a large number of the Scotch-Irish of this valley sold the lands they had improved here, and made a new start in the region of the Monongahela, to their own advantage and that of their posterity. Within gunshot of Braddock's disastrous field and of Forbes's victorious line of march descendants of Franklin County, men and women, are living this day on lands settled and improved by their ancestors between one hundred and fifteen and one hundred and twenty years ago, and the coal under their feet is worth from five hundred to one thousand dollars per acre. How many who remained here, or how many of any nationality who took the place of those who moved away, have done so well for their posterity?

Much land in the Cumberland Valley, both limestone and slate, once owned and occupied by Scotch-Irish, has for many years been in the hands of Germans. Good people and good farmers they are, and praise enough can properly be given to them for what they have done for the improvement of our farms, without undertaking to heighten it by ascribing either indolence or lack of judgment to their predecessors. The state of cultivation and improvement here is fully equaled in Westmoreland and Washington Counties, where large numbers of our kindred are holding on to the homes of their ancestors, who toiled up the packers' path, the old common road, and the old turnpike, and seated themselves in a region whose natural wealth is not excelled by another on the globe. But there not being room for all of them there, thousands have pushed out with our steadily extending frontier, and are to be found in thriving communities all the way to the Pacific.

For sentimental reasons, and for reasons which touch the feelings of our hearts, we may regret that so many of the Scotch-Irish have gone out from this beautiful valley; but when we consider what they did for themselves and have done for their posterity, and the good influence they exercised wherever they went, we must admit that they acted wisely and did well; and we must not permit the fact that they left this region, to which we are so strongly attached, to be brought forward as evidence that they were not sound-judging men nor good farmers.

HONORS TO SCOTCH-IRISHMEN.

—
BY PROF. GEORGE MACLOSKIE, PRINCETON.

—
SIR ROBERT HART.

The paper given in our proceedings for 1900 about Sir Robert Hart fails to indicate his Scotch-Irish affiliation. Where he was born I do not know ; but he spent his boyhood in Belfast, Ireland, where his father was engaged, and he entered Queen's College, Belfast, in 1850, the second year of its existence. During each of his undergraduate years he won a literary scholarship, and after graduation he obtained the senior scholarship in modern languages. He graduated Bachelor of Arts at the Queen's University, having its headquarters in Dublin, in 1853. On that occasion he obtained two first places with gold medals: one in English, the other in Philosophy. This closed his college career, for Dr. McCosh, who was then Professor of Philosophy in Belfast College, advised Hart to go as candidate for a student interpretership in the East. He went and won, and we know what followed.

In 1875 the Queen's University followed its distinguished alumnus with an honorary degree of Master of Arts ; and in 1882, when it was being transformed into the Royal University, it conferred on him, along with others of its more prominent alumni, an honorary Doctorate.

JOHN MCLEAVY BROWN.

This Scotch-Irishman is the British agent and adviser in Korea, and is a great eyesore to the Russians, who wish to have his place filled by a nominee of their own. He was born at Maize, near Belfast, and studied under the celebrated Dr. R. J. Bryce in the Belfast Academy, where he was a classmate and companion of the writer. He won a first year's literary scholarship in Queen's College, Belfast, in 1852 ; but his collegiate career was cut short by his competing for and securing one of the student interpreterships in the East. Thus he followed in the tracks of Sir Robert Hart, whose second man he was for a time.

WILLIAM HENRY MAXWELL, LL.D.

The superintendent of schools of the Greater New York is Scotch-Irish. His father, Rev. John Maxwell, is remembered by many people now resident in this country as having been for a long time the much-esteemed pastor of Bright Presbyterian Church, County Tyrone, Ireland. They were my neighbors, and I enjoyed the privilege of aiding the son in his preparation for college. He was then as painstaking in grappling with quadratics and with Xenophon's idioms as he is now in piloting the New York schools amid the many countercurrents of that wonderful city. After completing his undergraduate course in Queen's College, Galway, he graduated in Queen's University, Bachelor of Arts in 1872, Master of Arts in 1874; on both occasions with honors in Latin and Greek. On emigrating to America he had to begin at the foot of the ladder; but step by step he rose, till now he is recognized as being near its top, both for integrity and for efficiency as a public officer.

At the recent commencement of Columbia University, New York City, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Mr. Maxwell. I understand that the distinction was not sought by him, and that it came upon him as a surprise. The *New York Times* celebrated the incident by emphasizing the special appropriateness of the leading university of the great city conferring its highest academic honor on the man who has been so conspicuously successful in the development of the city's public educational system.

REV. JOSEPH McELROY, D.D.

Peter Carter, a worthy representative of the Scotch family which has been eminent in New York City, furnishes to *Christian Work* a reminiscence of the eminent Scotch-Irish preacher who officiated in the Scotch Presbyterian Church of New York from 1822 until 1876, his whole ministry in Pittsburg and New York lasting sixty-two years. "Dr. McElroy was born in Cumberland County, Pa., December 29, 1792. His parents were energetic and God-fearing persons of Scotch-Irish extraction—a kind of people to whom this country is so largely indebted for its civil and religious liberty. While he was yet very young, the family removed to Western Pennsylvania, not far from Pittsburg. His father died while he was yet a lad, and he was left to the care of his excellent mother. He was graduated from Jefferson College,

Pennsylvania, in 1810. He studied theology under the charge of Rev. Dr. John M. Mason in New York. He was licensed to preach the gospel by the Associated Presbytery of Pittsburg, Pa., in 1812. He became a pastor in the city of Pittsburg, where he labored with marked success for eight years."

Mr. Carter's reminiscence refers to the last Sunday in November, 1840, in the Scotch Church, at the corner of Grand and Crosby Streets, in New York. The church was so well filled that it was no easy matter for a regular member to get a pew. Among the well-known attendants were the sugar refiners, Robert L. Stewart and Alexander, his brother; Richard Irvin, that famous Scotchman, who was for so long the president of St. Andrew's Society; John Duncan, the head of the well-known firm of that name; Robert Carter, the evangelical publisher; James Moir, Robert Jaffray, William Wallace, A. Robertson Walsh, John Taylor Johnson, president of the Central Railroad of New Jersey, and a host of others. Dr. McElroy had by this time become one of the notable preachers of the metropolis, as he was certainly one of the most eloquent. He was a man of commanding person, a laborious student, a bold and logical thinker. He was always listened to with marked attention and interest, and he frequently moved his hearers deeply. He never used notes. He did not write his sermons, and yet he committed carefully to memory, not only the thought, but the words he intended to use.

His relations with the professors in Princeton Theological Seminary were very intimate, especially with Dr. Archibald Alexander and his two sons, James W. Alexander and J. Addison Alexander, Dr. Hodge, and Dr. Green. One Saturday afternoon Dr. McElroy was in Princeton, the guest of Dr. Archibald Alexander. After they had conversed for some time on various subjects, Dr. Alexander said: "Dr. McElroy, you must preach to the students to-morrow." "O, no," said Dr. McElroy, "I have no sermons to students." "We do not want a sermon to students; we get too many of that kind," was the reply of Dr. Alexander. "What we want is a sermon to sinners." To this Dr. McElroy agreed, and he gave them one of his earnest, pungent, practical discourses, delivered with a grace of oratory that all his hearers might well seek to imitate.

Mr. Carter gives from his notes a sketch of McElroy's New Year's sermon on the opening of 1852, on the appropriate text: "Ye know not what shall be on the morrow." (Jas. iv. 14.)

THE SCOTCH-IRISH PIONEER SETTLERS OF PATH VALLEY.

BY HON. ALBERT NEVIN POMEROY, CHAMBERSBURG, PA.

The Scotch-Irish, being aggressive and ever ready to push forward into new territory, were soon superseded in many sections of the province of Pennsylvania by the Germans, who were benefited greatly by the courage and fortitude of their predecessors. But there is a part of this country known as Path Valley where the population remains more distinctively Scotch-Irish than in any other section in our State. Being surrounded by mountains, off the line of public thoroughfares, they escaped the migratory fever, and have clung to their little paradise, which, viewed from the mountain top, presents a most attractive picture.

Path Valley is situated in Franklin County, fifteen miles west of Chambersburg. It is twenty-four miles in length, two miles in width at its widest point, and contains a thickly settled population, nearly all of whom are descendants of the early Scotch-Irish settlers. They are engaged principally in agriculture and mercantile pursuits, manufactories being practically disbarred on account of the valley being without railroad facilities except at either end. The valley is parallel with the Cumberland Valley, but separated from it by the Kittochtinny Mountains. The Tuscarora Mountains bound it on the west. The entrance at both the north and south is very narrow, only a ravine penetrating the mountains, admitting of a road and a stream of water. The valley, the mountains to the west of it, and the creek flowing through a section of it take their names from, and will preserve for all time to come the memory of, the Tuscarora tribe of Indians, who were the early owners of that section.

The story of Path Valley begins on the shores of Lake Champlain. Samuel Champlain, as an ally of the Montagnais, an Algonquin tribe, accompanied by two Frenchmen on a voyage of discovery on the lake which bears his name, met, on the evening of July 28, 1609, a flotilla of bark canoes containing about two hundred Iroquois warriors of the Mohawk tribe, hereditary

enemies of the Algonquins. The following day, on the present site of Ticonderoga, the two parties met. It was the first exhibition of firearms the savages had ever witnessed. Champlain discharged his arquebus, and by it two chiefs were instantly killed. The two other Frenchmen discharged their pieces, attacking the flanks of the astonished Mohawks, who fled in dismay to the forests, abandoning their canoes.

The same year, September 19, Henry Hudson, in the Half Moon, was at the present site of Albany, only a two days' march from the scene of Champlain's battle, and met and traded with the same tribe, the Mohawks. It was the beginning of an influence in America hostile to the French and friendly to the Dutch, who transferred it with their possessions to the English. The shot from Champlain's gun had a mighty effect upon the destinies of our country, for it arrayed the Iroquois nation forever against the French with an undying hatred, and made them firm friends of the English. They made their power felt in the great struggle between France and England for supremacy in America, and effected by their friendship the peaceful settlement of the valley.

The vast tract of wilderness from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and from the Carolinas to Hudson's Bay, was divided between two great families of tribes, separated by a radical difference in language. A part of Virginia and of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Southwestern New York, New England, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Lower Canada were occupied, so far as inhabited at all, by tribes speaking various Algonquin languages. Like a great island in the midst of the Algonquins lay the country of tribes speaking the tongue of the Iroquois. Another smaller island of the Iroquois, consisting of the Tuscarora and kindred tribes, was in North Carolina. The true Iroquois, or Five Nations, extended through Central New York from the Hudson to the Genesee.

On the lower Susquehanna dwelt the formidable tribe called the Andastes. Fierce and resolute warriors, they long made headway against the Iroquois of New York, and were vanquished at last more by disease than by the tomahawk. They were known to the Dutch and Swedes as the Mingoës, to the Marylanders as the Susquehannocks, and to Penn as the Conestogas. Upon

their reduction, in 1672, by the Five Nations they were to a great extent mingled with their conquerors. The Tuscaroras in North Carolina, engaging with the whites in a war in March, 1713, were defeated, and for greater protection from their conquerors fled northward and joined the Five Nations in 1715. Some settled in Virginia where Winchester now is, some near Martinsburg on the creek that still retains their name, and a large number in Tuscarora Valley, Juniata County, this State, which is a continuation of Path Valley. It is owing to the strong ties of friendship between the Six Nations and the English that Penn was enabled to obtain the land comprising that valley. Had an alliance first been made between the Iroquois and the French, how different would have been the story!

The Tuscaroras did not all come north at once, but in detached fragments, covering a period of fifty-five years. During that time there was more or less mingling together of those north with those who located at points south. The main castle, being in what is now Juniata County, attracted the various sections of the tribe to that place. It was by this going backward and forward of the Tuscaroras that the path was formed which gave to the valley the name it has ever since borne. Originally it was called Tuscarora Path Valley, but subsequently the word "Tuscarora" was dropped, for after 1754 it is known simply as Path Valley, the continuation of the valley in Juniata County being known as Tuscarora Valley.

The Indians seldom diverged from a straight track. By reference to ancient or modern maps it will be seen that Path Valley was the local route from the south to that portion of New York in which the Five Nations were located.

It would, of course, be impossible, in the absence of any allusion to the subject in the records, to even conjecture the number of Indians who made their homes in Path Valley prior to its purchase in 1754. There is no account of any Indian town in the valley, but that they were there, transiently at least, in considerable force, and prized the territory highly, is apparent from the vigorous and successful efforts they made by civil process to dislodge the early white settlers.

Path Valley was a popular place for Indian traders, more especially after the locating of the Tuscaroras in that section, and

early maps show it to have been dotted here and there with the path over which these traders trod on their way to the wilderness. That the valley rapidly increased in population is evident, for in 1746 a number of whites went in there in violation, as the Indians claimed, of their treaty rights and privileges, in which position they were sustained by the civil authorities of the province at a meeting of the provincial council held in Philadelphia on May 25, 1750, when Gov. Hamilton informed the House of the violation of the treaty, and that he had directed Mr. Peters, the Secretary, and Mr. Weiser, the Indian interpreter, to proceed to Cumberland County, which had just been stricken from Lancaster, and take the proper measures to remove the settlers who had presumed to stay, notwithstanding his proclamation prohibiting such action. Subsequently, on July 2, 1750, Mr. Peters reported to the Governor the result of the visit. After having met the representatives of the Indians and the justices of Cumberland County at Mr. Crogan's, it was decided to evict the settlers from the territory beyond the Kittochtinny until such time as the Six Nations would agree to make sale of the land, the magistrates announcing that the inhabitants would submit. Mr. Peters says: "The magistrates and company proceeded over the Kittatinny Mountains and entered the Tuscarora Path or Path Valley, through which the road to Allegheny lies. Many settlers were found in this valley, and all the people were sent for. The following appeared: Abraham Slack, James Blair, Moses Moore, Arthur Dunlap, Alexander McArtie, Felix Doyle, Andrew Dunlap, Robert Wilson, Jacob Pyatt, William Ramage, Reynolds Alexander, Samuel Patterson, Robert Baker, John Armstrong, and John Potts. These men did not offer resistance, but submitted to be bound in recognizance of one hundred pounds each to appear and answer for trespass on the first day of the next county court of Cumberland, to be held at Shippensburg. They gave bonds to the proprietaries to remove with all their families, servants, cattle, and effects, and having given up possession of their log houses to the number of eleven these were burned to the ground, the trespassers cheerfully carrying away their goods. This was the first and only eviction in this section of the province.

This action was taken by Gov. Hamilton in conformity with

a treaty entered into with the Indians in 1748, whereby the latter surrendered two millions of acres on the eastern side of the Susquehanna, for which a certain sum of money was paid. This territory was for the white settlers, with the distinct understanding that no encroachments were to be made upon the Indians west of the Susquehanna River.

Great injustice has been done these Scotch-Irish emigrants in their settlements and conduct toward the Indians. Mr. Sherman Day, in his "Historical Collections of Pennsylvania," terms them a "pertinacious and pugnacious race." Judge George Chambers, in his "Tribute to the Principles, Virtues, Habits, and Public Usefulness of the Irish and Scotch Early Settlers of Pennsylvania," enters a most emphatic protest. He says: "Admitting the aggressive character of the early Scotch-Irish settlers in pushing into the forests and occupying lands, the outrages and massacres were nevertheless not the direct result of these encroachments, but a retaliatory protest against the unjust manner in which their lands and hunting grounds had been taken from them by so-called purchases and treaties with the government. The wrongs of the government, and not the encroachments of the few daring settlers, produced these destructive Indian outrages."

This statement is corroborated by the reply made by the Assembly to Gov. Denny in June, 1757, which says: "It is rendered beyond contradiction plain that the cause of the present Indian incursions in this province, and the dreadful calamities many of the inhabitants have suffered, have arisen in a great measure from the exorbitant and unreasonable purchases made, or supposed to be made, of the Indians, and the manner of making them so exorbitant that the natives complain that they have not a country to subsist on."

The original settlers of Path Valley, with others, returned there after the treaty of Albany, in 1754, and repossessed themselves of the lands from which they had been driven four years previous; but troublous times were in store for them, and it was not until almost ten years after that date that they regarded themselves as entirely secure from the incursions of their savage foes in the territory west of them. Frequently they were compelled to fly for safety to the forts at Shippensburg and London.

From the autumn of 1755, when the Indians desolated all the region west of Kittochtinny Mountain, and extended their bloody visits into Cumberland Valley, the people of Path Valley made little progress for the next two or three years in the cultivation of their lands, or in the actual improvement or settlement of the valley. The records are almost silent in regard to their position, but from the statements frequently made that all the country west of the Kittochtinny Mountain was vacated, and that large numbers of settlers of Cumberland Valley had fled to York County, we can readily conclude that life in Path Valley was uncertain and dangerous, and that prosecution of improvement must have been attended with great difficulty. This state of affairs continued until about 1758, and even after that time at longer intervals, for they were disturbed by their unwelcome visitors until as late as 1764.

The men of Path Valley who participated in the scenes, shared the dangers, and endured the hardships just recounted were men of stout hearts and strong arms. Although resolute and daring, they were not reckless and lawless. Being Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, they were men of decided religious character. The records of the Presbytery of Donegal announce that at a meeting held at Middle Spring on April 23, 1766, a verbal supplication was made from Path Valley for supplies and a member to examine their youth and preside in electing and ordaining elders. Mr. Cooper, pastor of the Church at Middle Spring, was appointed to supply Path Valley at discretion, to spend a day or two catechising the youth, and to preside at the election and ordination of elders, if the way be clear.

Owing to the rapid expansion of civilization, it was nine years before a minister could be procured, but services were conducted by the elders, and they were supplied by the Presbytery as frequently as circumstances would permit.

Rev. Cooper was an ardent Whig who encouraged the members of his congregations to join with arms the standard of their country. They shared his spirit and resolution, and were part of the force of volunteers that marched from Carlisle, August, 1776, accompanied by their brave, patriotic, and pious minister. Rev. Cooper was also one of the committee appointed in 1785 by

the Synod of Philadelphia and New York to revise the standards of the Church.

Rev. Samuel Dougal was the first pastor, and was called in 1774. In 1775 the Presbytery held its first meeting in Path Valley, at which time the ordination and installation of Mr. Dougal occurred. Mr. Dougal's salary was fixed at \$266.66 a year, payable in wheat, some of which he traded for land warrants with which to procure a home. It was afterwards increased to one hundred pounds, and one hundred bushels of wheat "during the present circumstances of the times." Whether the circumstances of the times changed during his pastorate we are not informed. He was a native of Ireland, and continued to serve the two Churches which had been established until 1790, when he died.

The population of Path Valley is almost entirely Presbyterian at this time, owing to the descendants of the early settlers having remained there. Another thing greatly conduced to this result. Mr. Dougal, as his name implies, was an Irishman. He did not, however, believe in the fallacy, then so prevalent, that no one but an Irishman or a Scotch-Irishman could make a Presbyterian. On the other hand, he "had respect unto" the Germans who later came into the valley and settled down among the Scotch-Irish. He treated them kindly, won their confidence, made them his friends, brought them to the house of worship, and gathered them into the Presbyterian Church. Their descendants and the descendants of the early Irish and Scotch-Irish settlers intermarried. It is proverbially the German element in a community that "sticks." This has perhaps something to do with the stability and permanency of the population, and thus with the prosperity of the Church. At first there was but one Church organization in the valley, with two places of worship. This continued until 1851, when each Church became a separate organization.

From 1803 to 1851 Rev. Amos A. McGinley, D.D., was the pastor of the Lower as well as of the Upper Path Valley Church. The present pastor of the Lower Church, Rev. J. Smith Gordon, has served the congregation since 1858. Thus it will be noticed that in the past ninety-eight years two pastors have served the congregation for ninety-one years. The Upper Church, since becoming a distinct organization, has had four pastors, one, Rev. W. A. West, for twenty years. Both congregations are flourish-

ing to-day, and, although Churches of other denominations have recently been established, the two Presbyterian congregations maintain as large a membership as ever in their history.

Path Valley enjoys the distinction of having sent one of the two companies from the territory now embraced by this county to the Indian war, after the red man had been forced west of the Alleghanies. This no doubt was owing to the fact that Path Valley was still on the border, and its citizens held themselves in readiness for any attacks that might be made upon them. In 1779 a company recruited in that valley was mustered into service and sent West to quell an Indian disturbance.

As their forefathers were leaders in perils of war as well as in times of peace, so were their descendants when duty called them to take up arms. On September 5, 1812, the Concord Light Infantry, composed of thirty men under Capt. Michael Harper, was sent from Path Valley to the northwest. In 1814, when the government issued its call for more troops, Capt. Samuel Dunn had a small volunteer company numbering about forty men, composed entirely of Scotch-Irish. These men offered their services, were accepted, and became a part of the Fifth Regiment of the Pennsylvania troops commanded by Col. James Fenton. They were sent to Erie, where they were supplied with muskets, and later participated in the battle of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, and assisted in guarding the British prisoners from the frontier to Greenbush, now Albany, N. Y.

In the Mexican war, the war of the rebellion, and the recent Spanish-American war Path Valley gave her full quota of soldiers, and no record exists of a single man of that section ever having deserted.

Naturally a number of the former residents have gone elsewhere to locate. Many have held high positions of honor and trust in their adopted State, or have represented it in the national government, while some of those who have remained behind have honored this county in the various important positions to which they have been elected.

In this review we have traced the history of Path Valley from the earliest times, when, clothed with dense forests, it was the congenial abode of the wild game and the favorite haunt of the red man, through the period when civilization first set her stamp

upon it, and the palefaces invaded the territory to hew the trees and till the soil, to make roads and plant villages. To-day peace and prosperity dwell on all sides. Shut in by their mountains, a strong and sturdy set of men dwell there, men who have kept their religious convictions and the straightforward characters handed down to them from their Scotch ancestors. These men now possess the soil as their rightful inheritance, and under their careful supervision they have transformed the valley of their forefathers into a veritable garden spot.

WILSON COLLEGE, CHAMBERSBURG, PA.

IN 1868 Miss Sarah Wilson, of Rocky Spring, near Chambersburg, Pa., left a bequest of \$30,000 for the purpose of founding a college for women.

The demand for such a school in Pennsylvania had been already marked. The Presbytery of Carlisle had taken much interest in the matter, and had appointed a committee to consider the feasibility of founding a college within their bounds—*i. e.*, the Cumberland Valley. This committee appealed to the people on the ground that the widening opportunities for woman's work in the learned professions, and especially in the higher fields of education, indicated the duty of the Church to provide some better means for the education of her daughters. It was largely due to this appeal that the bequest of Miss Wilson was made.

Thirty thousand dollars was considered, even then, a very small sum to found a college, but it did not seem so hopelessly inadequate as it would be considered now. Those who were interested agreed that it would be best to make a beginning, in the hope that other contributions might be made when the college was actually in operation.

A charter was secured and the corporation of Wilson Female College was created by the State of Pennsylvania, in March, 1869.

The new and handsome residence of Col. A. K. McClure about this time was offered for sale, and was purchased at much less than it had cost. A president and faculty were chosen, and classes opened in September, 1871.

After much careful consideration as to just what should be attempted, it was decided to offer a full course of studies in the liberal arts and sciences leading to the degree of B.A.

The requirements for entrance and for graduation were about the same as those of other colleges in the State. In addition to this, arrangements were made for giving instruction in music and in fine art. The studies in music were subsequently organized into a regular course, and the degree of Mus.B. given to those who complete this course of studies. The demand for a course of

study, somewhat shorter and less severe than the full classical course, led to the arrangement of a Seminary Course, covering three years and leading not to a degree but to a certificate. This arrangement was found to interfere so seriously with the full classical course that, after some years, it was discontinued. It offered a compromise between a thorough education and an insignificant "special" course, and the popular appreciation of classical studies was not then, and is not now, sufficiently high to resist the temptation to compromise on something less thorough but easier to attain.

More recently the music course has been enlarged by the addition of higher branches of the science of music, and a regular curriculum of other studies, including language, literature, science, and philosophy, and the degree of Mus.B. is now given only to those who have completed this full course of culture studies, in addition to technical knowledge and skill in music.

The same demands that are made on music students are made on the students of fine art, only substituting certain studies in art for the music studies occupying the same time.

Another advance toward thorough work has recently been made by the elimination of all "special" students, and now students are not admitted except to one or the other of the three regular courses, leading to a diploma in classical, musical, or artistic work. This restriction was brought about by the increased patronage of the college. For some years the number of students applying for rooms has been greater than the dormitories can accommodate, and it was therefore necessary to select on some basis those whose claims were strongest; and while those who took only a special course often did good work, the average "special" was not a very earnest student.

The requirements for entrance and the course of studies in Wilson College are practically the same as that of the other first-class colleges of the State. It has an unusually large faculty for the number of students. The Board of Instruction numbers thirty teachers besides clerks and assistant librarians, and the number of students just about three hundred.

The salaries paid to teachers are unusually generous, and the rate of expense much below that of most colleges of the same grade. Two hundred and fifty dollars per year is the uniform

charge for board, room, and tuition in all college studies. Music and art cost about one hundred dollars a year extra.

The college buildings and equipment have been steadily, though steadily, enlarged and improved, and are now worth about \$250,000. The equipment for music is specially good. Much attention is paid to the manners, morals, and religious culture of the students, and great pains taken to make a happy and helpful home life in the college.

The college is without endowment, having no productive funds or property except its buildings. The salaries, amounting to over \$25,000 per year, and all the expense of maintenance are met by the receipts for board, room, and tuition. The most careful management can do little more than make ends meet, and any considerable enlargement is impossible without help from without the college.

THE TENTH CONGRESS.

BY G. O. SEILHAMER, CHAMBERSBURG, PA.

ALTHOUGH I am a Dutchman myself—a Dutchman of revolutionary descent, I am proud to say—I am free to declare that the gentlemen who are reading papers and making addresses before the Scotch-Irish Congress have an inspiring theme in the settlement and settlers of the Cumberland Valley. Any man might be proud of such forebears as belong to the descendants of the old families of the Conodoguinet and Conococheague. As I have found pleasure in studying the history of these early families in their frontier homes and in the lives of their distinguished posterity, I may be excused, Pennsylvania Dutchman though I am, for giving some of the results of my researches even while the Scotch-Irish Congress is in session.

Apart from the French Indian trader, Jacques Le Tort, it is impossible to fix the first settler in the Great North Valley. The point is not one of real importance, as the Scotch-Irish settlements were so nearly simultaneous that claims of priority are excluded. A few pioneers came between 1725 and 1735, but the great wave of emigration began to flow only after the purchase of 1736. Naturally the old families are eager to date their advent before 1736, notwithstanding the claim makes them squatters on unpurchased Indian land. In my view of it the old families of the Cumberland Valley embrace all those that came here before the revolution.

The first settlements were at the sources of the springs and at eligible points on the Conodoguinet, Conococheague (East and West), and Yellow Breeches. James Silvers settled at Silvers Spring, where Hogestown now stands, about 1725. Andrew Ralston came to Big Spring in 1728 or 1729. It is claimed that Richard Parker settled on the Conodoguinet, near Carlisle, and Archibald McAllister at McAllister's Run as early or earlier. It is customary to place the advent of the three Chambers brothers—James at Big Spring, Robert at Middle Spring, and Benjamin at Falling Spring—in 1730. In the case of Chamberses it was certainly two or three years later, and I am inclined to take the

same view of all the other cases. Even Silvers may have come as late as 1730. Around these names and the localities that these men selected for settlement are grouped the earliest associations of the Scotch-Irish in the Cumberland Valley.

The Silvers Spring settlement makes a very interesting group to begin with. In the loops of the Conodoguinet, along Hoge's and Silvers's springs, forming the early membership of Silvers Spring Church, were grouped the neighbors of James Silvers—the Armstrong, Carothers, Clendennin, Hoge, Irwin, McCormick, Oliver, Pollock, and Walker families. If I had a wand to call up the dead out of their cerements, they would rehearse for us stories as interesting as any that will be told in the Scotch-Irish Congress. Who of us would not rejoice to hear Gwenthlene Bowen, the wife of John Hoge the settler, who claimed to belong to the royal family of South Wales, the Gwents, tell of King Arthur and his knights at Camelot,

Where, as at Caerlon oft, he kept the Table Round,
Most famous for the sports of Pentecost?

Who of us would not listen with delight to William Walker, also a settler, who was a captain under "Malbrough s'en va-t-en guerre?" The Welsh princess gave to her adopted country a long line of revolutionary patriots, American statesman, and Presbyterian divines. From Capt. Walker came Robert J. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury under Polk, and Governor of Kansas under Buchanan.

I would, if I could, awake Isabella Oliver, of the Olivers of Silvers Spring, and the first poet of the Cumberland Valley, to sing in modern verse the rippling music of the winding Conodoguinet.

Richard Parker and his neighbors of Meetinghouse Springs had less romantic antecedents than the princess of Wales and Marlborough's captain of Silvers Spring, but their later history is not less interesting and distinctive. Alexander Parker, a grandson of Richard, served in the Pennsylvania Line in the revolution, and was the founder of the town of Parkersburg, W. Va. Others of Richard Parker's descendants took part in the revolutionary struggle. The Parker name, I believe, has disappeared entirely from the neighborhood of Carlisle, but the Parker blood flows in many veins in the Cumberland Valley, in Western Pennsylvania, and in the South and West. The inter-

marriages include the Deny, Dunbar, Fleming, Forbes, Gustine, Henderson, McClure, Murray, and Robinson families. A granddaughter married Thomas Crittenden, a brother of John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky. Among his descendants have been Ebenezer Denny, the first Mayor of Pittsburg; Parker Campbell, the eminent lawyer of Western Pennsylvania; and Rev. Dr. Thomas Creigh, for fifty years pastor of the Mercersburg Presbyterian Church. Among his living descendants are William M. Henderson and John Hays, of Carlisle, and Thomas J. Brereton, of Chambersburg.

Andrew Ralston's family name is no longer represented in the lists of communicants of the Big Spring Presbyterian Church, but J. McAllister Ralston, of Mechanicsburg, is a descendant, and there are descendants in Western Pennsylvania.

Archibald McAllister was a prominent man in his day, and his sons were active in the revolution, but the name has entirely disappeared from the Valley. One of them, Richard McAllister, founded McAllister's Town, in York County, now Hanover, and a brother, Archibald, acquired the Joseph Chambers's estate on the Susquehanna, better known as Fort Hunter, which remains in the family to this day. James went to Georgia. From him came Ward McAllister, the late New York society leader. Daniel remained on the McAllister homestead on McAllister's Spring. He married Elizabeth McDowell, the widow of John Holliday, of Peters Township. Their daughter, Elizabeth McAllister, became the wife of John Mitchell and the mother of Gen. Ormsby M. Mitchell. James McAllister Ralston, Archibald McAllister's great-grandson, now owns the original homestead.

Of the Chambers brothers, only Benjamin, the youngest, had distinguished posterity. James died on his plantation near Big Spring without issue. Robert was a man of prominence in the Middle Spring settlement, but removed from there during the revolution to what is now Union County, where his descendants, who are very worthy people, continue to live. Col. Benjamin Chambers, who built Fort Chambers, where the Chambersburg Woolen Mill now stands, was very active in the affairs of the province down to the Indian wars. He was colonel of one of the Pennsylvania regiments in 1748, one of the commissioners to fix the bounds of the new county of Cumberland in 1750, and a justice of the peace for Cumberland County.

The Chambers family, of Chambersburg, are descended from one of Col. Benjamin Chambers's sons by his second marriage, Capt. Benjamin Chambers. The most distinguished member of this branch of the Chambers family was the late Judge George Chambers—a good lawyer, an accomplished scholar, and a thorough gentleman. In court and in the relations of private life he was marked by the repose of manner that is always the best proof that a man had a grandfather. Judge Chambers was an excellent example of the transition from the frontiersman to the cultivated man of the world that was a trait in the development of the first three generations of the Scotch-Irish of the Cumberland Valley. Judge Chambers's mother was Sarah Brown, a granddaughter of Thomas Brown, one of the first settlers on the Conococheague, and Col. Benjamin Chambers's associate in a supplication to the Donegal Presbytery as early as 1738. In their marriages the Chamberses always adhered strictly to what was regarded as the "quality" of the Valley.

Gen. James Chambers, the only son of Col. Benjamin Chambers by his first marriage, is deserving of a better memorial than has yet been built to his memory. His revolutionary services, if he had been a New England soldier, would have given him a high place in his country's history. For four years, 1777-1781, he was colonel of the First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line, and in 1794 he commanded the only brigade in the Whisky Insurrection that had military discipline and soldierly bearing. After Franklin County was created he was a justice of the peace for Peters Township and an associate judge. In spite of a career so noteworthy he is given an unimportant place in the histories of the county so far published, and his posterity is practically ignored. The reason for this is that after his death, in 1805, his entire family went to the Western country. His son Benjamin, who served under the eye of his father in the revolution, was one of the earliest settlers of Indiana, and was active in the organization of that State. After a long search the only place where I found him identified was in Dunn's "History of Indiana" in the American Commonwealth Series. So far my inquiries in regard to his posterity have been fruitless.

While the Chambers name is practically obliterated, so far as the family of Gen. Chambers is concerned, his descendants in the female line have been allied with many distinguished families. Gen. Chambers's eldest daughter, Sarah Bella, married An-Peters township and an associate judge. In spite of a career

drew Dunlop, a prominent member of the Franklin County bar, 1785-1816. Another daughter, Charlotte, married Col. Israel Ludlow, of New Jersey, one of the founders of Cincinnati. The cousins, James Chambers Ludlow and Josephine Dunlop, intermarried, and their daughter became the wife of Chief Justice Chase. A daughter of Charlotte Chambers was the second wife of Justice McLean, of the United States Supreme Court, and another daughter by her second marriage with Rev. David Riske, of Missouri, married George W. Jones, United States Senator from Iowa. Later marriages embrace other families of equal distinction, including the Breckinridges, of Kentucky.

In a paper that I read before the Kittichtinny Historical Society in January I expressed the conviction that the Snively and Johnston families, of Antrim, and the McDowell family, of Peters, came to the Conococheague Valley closely upon the heels of Col. Benjamin Chambers, if not step by step with him.

As the Snivelys are not of Scotch-Irish origin, their story must be reserved for the meeting of the Pennsylvania German Society in Chambersburg next year.

The Johnston family, of Antrim, was one of the most distinguished in the Cumberland Valley. James Johnston, the original settler, had four sons, all of whom were prominent in the revolution. Col. James Johnston, the eldest, left no descendants. Col. Thomas Johnston has no representative of the Johnston name in the Valley, but at the beginning of the present year Col. Thomas had two representative grandsons living—the late Johnston Moore, of Carlisle, and Dr. Johnston McLanahan, of Chambersburg. Dr. McLanahan is the present representative of the Johnston family in this Valley. Maj. John Johnston had a large family of sons and daughters. William Johnston, the first salt producer on the Conemaugh, was his eldest son. This family has numerous descendants in Western Pennsylvania and the West. Dr. Robert Johnston, the youngest of the four brothers, was a surgeon in the Continental army during the entire revolution. He enjoyed the confidence of Gen. Washington, and when the President was on his way to quell the Whisky Insurrection, in 1794, he stopped to dine with the Doctor at the old stone mansion, still standing, south of Greencastle. A few weeks ago, at the home of Mrs. Elizabeth Johnston Nill, who is a granddaughter of Col. Thomas Johnston, I saw the table at which Washington sat down to dinner.

The McDowell family has shown a closer attachment to the soil of the Conococheague than any of the early settlers. For four generations the descendants of William McDowell followed the plow on the original McDowell plantations under the shadow of Mt. Parnell. McDowell's Mill was the chief point of interest in the Indian wars from Braddock to Boquet.

But the McDowells were more than farmers and millers. William McDowell's grandsons were soldiers of the revolution, scholars, lawyers, physicians, pioneers. William McDowell's granddaughters were the wives of the leading spirits of their time on the frontier, and one of them was the ancestor of a President of the United States.

When Cumberland County was created, in 1750, the commissioners to carry the act of the Assembly into effect were: Robert McCoy, of Peters; Benjamin Chambers, of Antrim; David Magaw, of Hopewell; and James McIntyre and John McCormick, of East Pennsboro.

Robert McCoy lived in "the Corner" above Mercersburg. The only means I have of knowing this is the fact that he was in Elder William Maxwell's district when the Rev. John King began his record of the Upper West Conococheague Presbyterian Church. He died May 14, 1777. His son, Robert McCoy, Jr., was killed in the affair at Crooked Billet, May 1, 1778.

David Magaw lived near Newburg. He died without issue. His brother, William Magaw, of Shippensburg, was the father of Col. Robert, Dr. William, and Rev. Samuel Magaw. The Magaws were a Church of England family, which indicates, perhaps, that they were not Scotch-Irish. Dr. William Magaw settled at Mercersburg and married Mary McDowell. His brother, Samuel Magaw, was Vice Provost and his brother-in-law, John McDowell, was Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. The Magaws, of Meadville, Pa., are Dr. William Magaw's descendants.

Of James McIntyre I know nothing.

John McCormick was the ancestor of the McCormick family of Silver Spring.

The records of the Presbyterian Churches are generally regarded as the best sources of information in regard to the early Scotch-Irish settlers of the Cumberland Valley. While this is true of them, it must be confessed that they are far from satisfactory. I know of only one case where there is any approach to

completeness—the Upper West Conococheague, or Mercersburg, Church. Dr. King's records begin with 1769. Those of Big Spring Presbyterian Church begin twenty years later, 1789. Dr. Cooper left no record of his pastorate at Middle Spring except a list of the subscribers to the old stone church in 1781, and the names of the women who contributed to the pulpit fund in 1786.

East Conococheague, Greencastle, has no record before 1840, and Falling Spring, Chambersburg, lost its archives in the great fire of 1864. Even Rocky Spring had only a list of pew holders near the close of the eighteenth century. This is a condition of things that makes research difficult and uncertain. Another difficulty is the fact that many of the early settlers were Covenanters, Associate Reformed, or United Presbyterian. Their records are even more meager than those of the Churches of the Carlisle Presbytery.

From my own manuscript records I have compiled an alphabetical list of men born in Franklin County, or early settlers here, who earned distinction on the bench, at the bar, in the pulpit, in the medical profession, in the Legislature, in Congress, and in the revolution, and of the mothers of some of the distinguished men who were native and to the manner born:

Col. John Allison, son of William and Catherine Craig Allison, Greencastle delegate to the Carpenters' Hall convention, 1776; colonel in the "Flying Camp," 1776, and member of the Pennsylvania convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, 1788.

Rev. Dr. Patrick Allison, brother of Col. John; pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Baltimore; ancestor of George William Brown, Mayor of Baltimore, 1861.

Archibald Bard, son of Richard and Catherine Poe Bard, Peters, Associate Judge of Franklin County, 1811-32.

Richard Bard, settler; captured by the Indians in 1758, at Bard's Mill, Adams County, with his wife, Catherine Poe, who was a sister of Capt. James Poe; member of the Pennsylvania convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, 1788.

Thomas R. Bard, son of Robert M. and Elizabeth Little Bard, Chambersburg, and great-grandson of Richard Bard; United States Senator from California.

Rev. James I. Brownson, D.D., son of Maj. John and Sarah Smith Brownson, Mercersburg, prominent clergyman; Rev. Marcus A. Brownson, now active in the Presbyterian Assembly, is his son.

James Buchanan, son of James and Elizabeth Speer Buchanan, Stony Batter; fifteenth President of the United States.

Gen. Charles Campbell, Peters, 1746; prominent in Westmoreland County during the revolution; captured by the Indians.

Gen. Charles T. Campbell, son of James and Margaret Poe Campbell, St. Thomas; a gallant soldier in the civil war.

Col. Benjamin Chambers, first settler at Falling Spring and founder of Chambersburg.

Capt. Benjamin Chambers, son of Col. Benjamin and Jane Williams Chambers, Chambersburg; ancestor of the Chambers family, of Chambersburg.

Lieut. Benjamin Chambers, son of Gen. James and Katherine Hamilton Chambers, Chambersburg; soldier of the revolution and leading citizen of Indiana.

George Chambers, son of Capt. Benjamin and Sarah Brown Chambers, Chambersburg; member of Congress and Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

Gen. James Chambers, son of Col. Benjamin and Sarah Patterson Chambers, Chambersburg; colonel in the Pennsylvania Line, and brigadier general.

Edward Crawford, son of Edward Crawford, the settler, Guilford; officer of the Pennsylvania Line; first prothonotary of Franklin County.

John Crawford, brother of Edward; officer of the "Flying Camp;" captured at Fort Washington, 1776.

Thomas Hartley Crawford, son of Edward and Catherine Holsinger Crawford, Chambersburg; member of Congress; United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and United States Judge for the District of Columbia.

Col. Samuel Culbertson, son of "Irish" Joseph Culbertson, "Culbertson's Row;" colonel of the Sixth Battalion, Cumberland County Associators.

Dr. Samuel D. Culbertson, son of Col. Robert Culbertson, "Culbertson's Row;" an eminent physician of Chambersburg.

Rev. John Dickson, D.D., descendant of John Dickson, soldier in the French and Indian war, St. Thomas; eloquent preacher and bishop of U. B. Church.

Col. William D. Dixon, descendant of John Dixon, St. Thomas; distinguished soldier, Pennsylvania Reserves.

James Dunlop, son of Andrew and Sarah Bella Chambers Dunlop, Chambersburg; author of Dunlop's "Digest."

Gen. James Findley, son of Samuel and Jane Smith Findley, Peters; brigadier general in war of 1812, and member of Congress from Ohio.

Col. John Findley, son of Samuel and Jane Smith Findley, Peters; colonel in war of 1812, and member of Congress.

William Findley, son of Samuel and Jane Smith Findley, Peters; Governor of Pennsylvania and United States Senator.

Adam Holiday, son of John, Peters; founder of Holidaysburg.

Elizabeth Irwin, daughter of Archibald and Mary Ramsey Irwin, and granddaughter of Archibald and Jean McDowell Irwin, Irwinton Mills; wife of John Scott Harrison, and mother of President Benjamin Harrison.

Col. James Johnston, son of James and Elizabeth Findley Johnston, Antrim; lieutenant colonel, Eighth Battalion, Cumberland County Associators.

Maj. John Johnston, brother of James; captain of a troop of horse.

Dr. Robert Johnston, brother of James; surgeon in the Continental army.

Col. Thomas Johnston, brother of James; adjutant of the Eighth Battalion, Cumberland County Associators; colonel of militia.

Harriet Lane, daughter of Elliott T. and Jane Buchanan Lane, Mercersburg; mistress of the White House during administration of President Buchanan.

Maj. James McCammont, son of James and Jane McCammont, Letterkenny; celebrated Indian fighter; major Sixth Battalion, Cumberland County Associators, in active service; member of Pennsylvania Assembly.

Dr. John McClellan, son of John and Sidney Roddy McClellan, Antrim, distinguished surgeon.

Col. John McClellan, son of Dr. John and Eleanor McCulloh McClellan, Antrim; graduate of West Point; distinguished in Mexican war.

Robert M. McClellan, son of Dr. John and Eleanor McCulloh McClellan, Antrim; Governor of Michigan, and Secretary of the Interior under President Pierce.

Alexander McDowell, son of William and Mary Maxwell McDowell, Peters; pioneer of Venango County; ancestor of Alexander McDowell, clerk of House of Representatives.

Dr. John McDowell, son of Nathan and Catherine Maxwell McDowell, Peters; surgeon in the Pennsylvania Line.

John McDowell, LL.D., son of William and Mary Maxwell McDowell, Peters; provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

Capt. William McDowell, brother of John, LL.D., officer of the Pennsylvania Line.

Thomas Bard McFarland, son of John and Eliza Parker McFarland, Peters; Judge of the Supreme Court of California.

James X. McLanahan, son of William McLanahan and Mary Gregg, daughter of United States Senator Andrew Gregg, Antrim; member of Congress.

James McLene, Antrim; delegate to the Carpenters' Hall Convention, 1776; member of the Supreme Executive Council.

John Maclay, son of Charles and Eleanor Query Maclay, Lurgan; member of the Carpenters' Hall Convention, 1776.

Samuel Maclay, brother of John; United States Senator.

William Maclay, brother of John; United States Senator in the First Congress; the first Democrat.

William Maclay, son of John and Jane Dickson Maclay, Lurgan; member of Congress.

Dr. William Magaw, son of William and Elizabeth Magaw, Shippensburg; surgeon in the Pennsylvania Line.

James Maxwell, son of William and Susana Maxwell, Peters; Associate Judge of Franklin County and President of the Courts.

Rev. John Williamson Nevin, D.D., Letterkenny; eminent theologian.

James Nill, son of Charles Nill, Quincy; President Judge of the Sixteenth Judicial District.

Capt. Robert Parker, Peters; officer in the Pennsylvania artillery in the revolution.

Capt. James Poe, son of Thomas and Mary Poe, Antrim; a captain of Cumberland County Associators and a prominent man. His wife was a daughter of Gen. James Potter.

Gen. James Potter, son of John Potter, the first sheriff of Cumberland County, Antrim; a major general of Pennsylvania militia in the revolution.

Maj. James Ramsey, son of James and Mary Ramsey, Montgomery; built Hiester's mill; was the grandfather of President Benjamin Harrison and the great-grandfather of the Rev. William Speer, D.D.

Gen. John Rea, son of Samuel Rea, Greene; captain of Cumberland County Associators and Member of Congress.

Thomas A. Scott, son of Thomas Scott, Fort Loudon; Assistant Secretary of War and President of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Col. Abraham Smith, brother of William Smith, Esq.; Colonel of the Eighth Battalion, Cumberland County Associators; member of the Supreme Executive Council.

James Smith, brother of Jonathan and Robert Smith, the hero of "Border Life;" colonel of a battalion of rangers in the revolution; emigrated to Kentucky.

Jonathan Smith, brother of Col. James and Robert Smith; a ruling elder in the Upper West Conococheague Church; died of camp fever at Amboy, N. J., October 13, 1776.

Robert Smith, son of William Smith, Esq., Peters; Speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives.

William Smith, early settler; justice of the peace of Cumberland County; commissioner to build the new road for Gen. Braddock; leading spirit of his time.

William Smith, son of Wililam Smith, Esq., Mercersburg; laid out the town.

Alexander Thompson, son of Andrew Thompson, Greene; President Judge of the Sixteenth Judicial District.

Frank Thompson, son of Alexander and Jane Graham Thompson, Chambersburg; President of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

This is my contribution to the literature of the Scotch-Irish Congress—on the side.

G. O. SEILHAMER.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

If the meeting of this Congress is for the purpose of gathering the Scotch-Irish history in this locality, then I may be pardoned for intruding upon it a brief biographical sketch of one of the most distinguished Scotch-Irish which the country has produced. A celebrated writer has said: "Biography is the only history." Another has said: "A biography is more interesting and human than a mass of historical details." It is a coincidence worthy of note that when the people of the United States for the eighteenth time came to select the chief executive officers of the nation they chose as their President one who had been born in Franklin County, and as their Vice President one whose ancestry was among the pioneer settlers of the same county, both of them Scotch-Irish.

I have no hesitancy in saying that the two most distinguished sons of Franklin County were James Buchanan and John Williamson Nevin, both of the lineage of the people whose history we study to-day; the former the fifteenth President of the United States, the latter a great teacher of theology, of whom it was said by the celebrated Dr. Hodge, of Princeton: "The Presbyterian Church regarded him as one of the few great theologians and thinkers of America, and everywhere he was ranked as one of the greatest three or four citizens whom the great State of Pennsylvania had produced."

To portray properly the life of Mr. Buchanan would be to write the history of the country from 1825 to 1860. Of course we could not do that even if we had the time and ability; and, since we are lacking in both, there will be no attempt in that direction.

Mr. Buchanan was born on the 23d of April, 1791. The Father of his Country was still President of the United States. But one State had been added to the original thirteen, and that only a few weeks before his birth. Thomas Jefferson, of whom he afterwards became an ardent disciple, was Secretary of State. William Maclay, a Lurgan township boy, had just left the United States Senate, having completed the short term for which he

had been elected. F. A. Muhlenburg, a native of Pennsylvania, was Speaker of the House of Representatives. France, which had done so much to aid the colonies in establishing their independence, was in the throes of a terrible revolution. The county was less than seven years old. Indeed, less than half a century prior to that time we had been a part of Lancaster, where the future statesman afterwards made his home, so that it may almost be said that he lived and died in his native county.

Mr. Buchanan's birthplace was known by the homely name of Stony Batter. It is in a gorge of the mountain near the turnpike road leading from Mercersburg to McConnellsburg, about one-half mile to the northwest of what is now the village of Foltz. The place is close to the turnpike road, but at the time of Mr. Buchanan's birth that road had not yet been built; indeed, it was more than a quarter century after that when it was opened for travel. Nothing is now left to mark the place of his birth but a few of the stones of the old foundation. Traces can still be seen of the packers' path which ran on the one side of the dwelling, and the wagon road which ran on the other. The house in which he was born was built of logs, and was afterwards removed to the village of Mercersburg, where it still stands on Fayette Street. May the time come when a suitable monument shall be erected to mark the place of his birth! A vigorous effort was made a few years ago by the venerable John Cessna, then a member of the State Legislature, assisted by Hon. M. A. Foltz, to have the State appropriate a small sum for that purpose, but the effort failed. It was a graceful thing for Mr. Cessna in the last years of his life to make this effort to mark the birthplace of the distinguished son of Franklin County, with whom he differed most radically in his life.

When James was about five years of age his parents moved to Mercersburg, where he received his first schooling and was taught the Latin and Greek languages. The school was at first kept by Rev. James R. Sharon, a student of divinity, with Dr. John King, the Presbyterian pastor, and afterwards by a Mr. McConnell and Dr. Jesse Magaw, who married Mr. Buchanan's sister. In 1807 he was sent to Dickinson College, Carlisle, from which institution he was graduated in 1809. He seems to have been a close student, yet he did not always observe the rules of the college, and while home on his vacation in the summer of

1808 Dr. Davidson, the Principal of the college, wrote to his father that, but for the respect which the faculty entertained for the parents, the son would have been expelled on account of disorderly conduct; that they had borne with him as best they could, but that they would not receive him again, and the letter was written to save the father the mortification of sending him back and having him rejected. Through the intercession of Dr. King, the pastor of the Church to which the family belonged, the faculty was induced to take him back, and at the public examination previous to the commencement he answered correctly every question that was put to him. At that time two honors were conferred by the college, and young Buchanan had set his heart upon obtaining the first. The faculty gave him neither, although it was conceded by all that he was, because of the examination he had passed, entitled to the first. The reason given by the faculty for denying him what was his right was that it would have had a bad tendency to confer an honor on one who had had as little respect for the rules of the institution as he had shown. This was doubtless a great injustice to the student. He felt the mortification all the more because it was a rule of the college that each one of the two societies should present a candidate for the honors, and the faculty decided which should have the first, and the second was conferred upon the other. Mr. Buchanan had been unanimously presented by his associates. One cannot but ask the question whether, if the faculty had realized that he would one day be President of the United States, they would have acted as they did.

In December, 1809, young Buchanan became a student of the law in the office of Mr. Hopkins, at Lancaster, where he was admitted to the bar in 1812. He seems at once to have taken a high rank in his profession, and to have entered into a lucrative practice. In his own hand he kept an account of professional emoluments, and from this we learn that the income from his profession was as follows:

In 1813	\$ 938
In 1814	1,096
In 1815	2,246
In 1816	3,174
In 1817	5,379
In 1818	7,915
In 1819	7,09

In 1820	\$ 5,656
In 1821-22	11,297
In 1823	7,243
In 1825	4,521
In 1826	2,419
In 1827	2,570
In 1828	2,008
In 1829	3,362

When it is remembered that during the most of this period he was constantly engaged in the public service, either as a Legislator at Harrisburg or Washington, it would seem that he must have been a very busy lawyer while at home. The first public address he ever made was in 1814, a short time after the capture of Washington by the British. A public meeting was called at Lancaster for the purpose of adopting measures to obtain volunteers to march for the defense of Baltimore. While disapproving of the declaration of war, under the circumstances, he urged that it was the duty of every patriot to defend the country against a foreign enemy. Although only twenty-three years of age, his speech attracted much attention. He not only urged others to go to war, but was the first to register his name as a volunteer. He joined a company of dragoons, commanded by Captain (afterwards Judge) Henry Shippen. They marched to Baltimore under command of Maj. Charles Sterrett Ridgeley, and served until they were honorably discharged.

In October, 1814, Mr. Buchanan was elected to represent the county of Lancaster in the Pennsylvania Legislature. He was again elected in 1815. In 1820 he was elected from the district composed of the counties of Lancaster, York, and Dauphin to represent them in Congress, and took his seat in December, 1821. He was reelected for the same district in 1822, 1824, 1826, 1828, and 1830. He was appointed by President Jackson Minister to Russia. He embarked from New York on the 8th day of April, 1832, and returned from that post in the month of November, 1833, having been recalled at his own request. On the 6th of December, 1834, he was elected by the Legislature to the United States Senate to succeed Mr. Wilkins, who had been appointed Minister to Russia to succeed Mr. Buchanan. This election was for the remainder of Mr. Wilkins's term; and in January, 1837, he was elected for the full term, having been, up to that time, the only person who had received a second elec-

tion from the Legislature of Pennsylvania to the United States Senate. He was offered by President Van Buren the position of Attorney-General, but declined, saying he preferred his position as United States Senator from Pennsylvania. In 1843 he was for a third time elected to the United States Senate. No one before or since that time, except Daniel Sturgeon, who was a colleague of Mr. Buchanan, has had so long continuous service as a Senator from Pennsylvania.

In 1845 he resigned his position as Senator and accepted the portfolio of State in the Cabinet of James K. Polk. He served during the whole administration of President Polk, and on the 4th of March, 1849, retired to a beautiful home which he had purchased just outside the limits of the city of Lancaster. The place consisted of twenty-two acres, and was named Wheatland. There he remained quietly until 1853, when he was appointed by Franklin Pierce, then President of the United States, Minister to Great Britain. He sailed from New York for England on the 5th of August, 1853, and returned in April, 1856. In June of that year he was nominated by the Democratic Convention, which met at Cincinnati, as the party's candidate for President of the United States, and in November of that year was elected, having received one hundred and seventy-four electoral votes to one hundred and fourteen cast for John C. Fremont, and eight cast for Millard Fillmore. He also received a majority of over five hundred thousand of the popular vote. He retired from the presidency on the 4th of March, 1861, and returned to his home at Wheatland, where he died on the first day of June, 1868.

We have thus briefly sketched the public career of the Franklin County boy, who was born at Stony Batter, as a soldier in the company of dragoons, member of the State Legislature, member of both Houses of Congress, Cabinet Minister, representative of his country at two foreign courts, and lastly Chief Executive of the nation.

Mr. Buchanan in personal appearance was tall (over six feet), broad-shouldered, and had a portly and dignified bearing. He wore no beard. His complexion was clear and very fair. His forehead was massive, wide, and smooth. His features were strong and well-marked, and his white hair was abundant and silky in texture. His eyes were blue, intelligent, and kindly,

with the peculiarity that the one was farsighted and the other nearsighted, which resulted in a habitual inclination of the head to one side.

The above description of him is taken from a letter written by his nephew and private secretary, James Buchanan Henry.

A letter which I have from Miss Lide J. Reilly, of Pittsburg, daughter of the late Hon. Wilson Reilly, who was elected to Congress from this district at the same time Mr. Buchanan was elected President, and who often saw and conversed with him, her father having entertained him at his home, and she also having been a visitor at the White House, says: "Mr. Buchanan must have been very fond of children, or the impression of his kind and tender manner and words as he bent to kiss the little girls would not have remained with them for so many years. Although scholarly and dignified, Mr. Buchanan must have been a very genial man. He made a bet with a member of our family that he would not be elected President, although of my father's election he felt sure." She further says: "In my memory he is outlined as a tall, stately figure, with the head bent a little to one side."

Undoubtedly Mr. Buchanan was a man of most courtly bearing and pleasant manner. It was said of him in England that he was the most accomplished gentleman that ever represented this government at the court of St. James, and when he left the Russian court the great Emperor Nicholas condescended to say to him: "Say to President Jackson that I hope he will send us another Minister exactly like yourself."

It is said that when his father removed from Stony Batter to Mercersburg, although then a village of very few inhabitants, the boys from the town were wont to tease the boy from the mountain, but that one day he turned on his tormentors and flogged them. After that he was allowed to live in peace. It is related that when he went to college at Carlisle his father took him there, riding on the same horse, and that as they passed out of the town an old lady acquaintance tried to stop him on the street, declaring that a college education would prove his ruin.

Dr. Theodore Apple, in his "Recollections of College Life," says that Mr. Buchanan, while United States Senator, frequently visited Mercersburg, and gave of his money to the support

of the institution there. After Marshall College was removed to Lancaster, which I believe was in 1853, Mr. Buchanan was President of the Board of Trustees. The local newspapers of Mr. Buchanan's time do not seem to have been as anxious to chronicle the affairs of public men as the local newspapers of to-day. Hence we find but little mention of Mr. Buchanan's visits to this county. In the campaign of 1840, however, a Democratic mass meeting was held on Federal Hill, the place now occupied by the Children's Home. On that occasion Mr. Buchanan spoke, being introduced to the people by the Hon. James X. McLanahan. After his nomination to the presidency, in 1856, a vacancy having occurred on the State ticket, by reason of the death of the candidate for Surveyor General, a Democratic State Convention was called to meet in Chambersburg. In August of that year the Convention met in the courthouse and nominated as candidate for Surveyor General Hon. John Rowe, the father of Hon. D. Watson Rowe, who is with us to-day.

A few weeks after this Mr. Buchanan drove through the county on his way to Lancaster from Bedford Springs, at which place he was in the habit of spending his vacations. He was accompanied by Col. Black, who had been very active in securing his nomination, and who was afterwards killed while leading his regiment in one of the battles of the late civil war.

Mr. A. J. Unger, of Foltz, tells me that the two gentlemen came driving over the pike from the direction of McConnellsburg. They tied their horse somewhere in the village, and proceeded to walk through the gorge to Buchanan's birthplace, Mr. Unger himself, being then but a boy, having observed them. A teamster who had gone into the mountain for a load of sand saw the two men, and, recognizing Mr. Buchanan from pictures which he had seen, rushed to the village, calling out: "Jimmy Buchanan is up here." It was but a few moments until every man and boy in the village was on his way up the path to see the candidate for President, and at the head of the party were Brady Seylar, who at that time ran a foundry at the Gap, and Mr. Unger's father. They were both acquainted with Mr. Buchanan. He received them all very cordially, and left a very pleasant impression, especially upon the boys of the party. They drove over to Mercersburg, and whether on that occasion or some one prior to that time, I do not know, but Mr. Buchanan at one time

spoke at a meeting in front of Col. Murphy's, now Fendrick's Hotel, which was presided over by Capt. Jack Cushwa. On the occasion of which Mr. Unger speaks, Col. Black and Mr. Buchanan drove from Mercersburg to Greencastle, where they were the guests of Maj. John Rowe. From there they drove to Chambersburg, and were entertained at the house of Col. Chambers McKibben, who lived where Wilson College now stands. In the evening Mr. Buchanan walked to town and held a reception at Gibbs's, now the Montgomery Hotel. The Buchanan Club, a political organization of the town, waited on him in a body, they had a torchlight procession, and a serenade was given by the Mechanics' Band.

On the same evening they were entertained at the house of Wilson Reilly, now the Wallace property on Queen Street, Mr. Reilly being at that time, as I said before, a candidate on the Democratic ticket for Congress. Both Mr. Buchanan and Col. Black spoke from the steps of Mr. Reilly's house.

Mr. Henry Sierer tells me that he remembers very distinctly Mr. Reilly's introducing Mr. Buchanan as the next President of the United States. The opening sentence of Mr. Buchanan's speech was: "There is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip."

It is said that the addresses made in this county were the only ones made by him during the campaign. Mr. Buchanan was of the opinion that it was not becoming for a candidate for the presidency to discuss political issues on the stump. The speeches he delivered here were of a friendly rather than a political character.

On the 4th of August, 1850, Mr. Buchanan, writing from Bedford Springs to his niece, Miss Lane, says that he expects to leave Bedford Springs the next day, and that at Loudon he will leave the party with whom he is traveling, and spend a few days in Franklin County.

In 1852, a friend having written to Mr. Buchanan expressing his regret at his not having been nominated for the presidency instead of Mr. Pierce, and asking Mr. Buchanan what the situation was in Pennsylvania, Mr. Buchanan replied that, while he hoped the Democrats would carry the State, yet there was some disaffection, and said that prior to that time he had been visiting his old home in Franklin County, where he was told of an old friend of his, a farmer and miller who had always voted the

Democratic ticket, but who now did not intend to vote for Mr. Pierce. He said he had talked with him for several hours without being able to change his mind. The objection he had to voting for Mr. Pierce did not arise from any question of the tariff, but because Mr. Pierce had been nominated by a convention; the old man saying that he would never vote for a man for President of the United States who had been nominated by a political convention, that it would be wrong to encourage such a thing; for after a while, if political conventions were encouraged, wicked men would control them, and bad men would be nominated for the presidency.

It would be very interesting indeed, it seems to me, to know the name of this old prophet who was a farmer and a miller. It is also interesting to reflect upon the fact that a man who had been United States Senator, a Cabinet Minister, a foreign representative, and also a candidate for the presidency should spend two hours in trying to make one vote for his candidate. Mr. Buchanan, on the 13th day of November, 1816, presented to Lodge No. 43, Free and Accepted Masons, of Lancaster, Pa., his petition, asking to be admitted as a member of that lodge, if found worthy. His recommenders were John Reynolds, the father of Gen. John F. Reynolds, who was killed at Gettysburg, and Molten C. Rogers, who was afterwards Secretary of the Commonwealth and for twenty-five years Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Mr. Buchanan was initiated on December 11, 1816, and in 1820 was elected Junior Warden. He was Senior Warden in 1821, and Worshipful Master in 1822. He was the first district Deputy Grand Master of the district comprising the counties of Lancaster, York, and Lebanon. He retained his affiliation with the Masons until the time of his death, and his funeral was conducted by the members of the lodge into which he had been initiated in 1816.

I have been told that after Mr. Buchanan's retirement from the presidency and his return to Lancaster, in the great political excitement which prevailed, and in the high state of public feeling, it was feared that personal harm would be done the ex-President. His lodge was one day summoned to meet at high noon. Mr. Buchanan stood before the altar in the lodge room, with his right arm extended across the Holy Bible, while each member of the lodge passed before him, took his hand in his, and

pledged himself to protect his property and his person from injury, if need be with his life. Every member of the craft will recognize that this was a pledge not lightly made, and every member of the craft knows that it was a pledge which would not have been given if it had been thought for one moment that Mr. Buchanan had not been true to his country.

Mr. Buchanan was a man of strong religious nature. Although not a member of the Church until after he retired from public office, he yet had a habit of daily prayer. At a dinner one day, given by him at the White House, a foreign lady who had traveled over the world and was a great lover of society made some slighting remark with reference to prayer: Looking at her, he said: "I pray privately every day." She took it as a jest, when he, in a more serious manner, assured her that it was a fact. She never again in his presence made a slighting remark with reference to prayer.

In 1860, while on a visit to Bedford Springs, he met Rev. William M. Paxton, D.D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of New York. He asked him to go with him to his room. When they were seated Mr. Buchanan said to him: "I sent for you to request that you will favor me with a conversation on the subject of religion. I knew your father and mother in early life, and, as you have some knowledge of my family, you are aware that I was religiously educated, but for some years I have been much more thoughtful than formerly upon religious subjects. I think I may say that for twelve years I have been in the habit of reading the Bible and praying daily. I have never had any one with whom I felt disposed to converse, but now that I find you here, I have thought that you would understand my feelings, and I would endeavor to open my mind to you upon this important subject, and ask information upon some things I do not clearly understand."

Writing of it afterwards, Mr. Paxton said: "He then began to question me as closely as a lawyer would question a witness, upon all points connected with regeneration, atonement, repentance, and faith. After a conversation of two or three hours, he said: "Well, sir, I thank you. My mind is now made up. I hope that I am a Christian. I think I have much of the experience which you describe, and as soon as I retire from my office as President I will unite with the Presbyterian Church." To this Mr. Pax-

ton replied: "Why not now, Mr. President? God's invitation is now, and you should not say to-morrow." To which he replied: "I must delay for the honor of religion; if I were to unite with the Church now, they would say hypocrite from Maine to Georgia."

Dr. Theodore Apple, in his "Life of John Williamson Nevin," speaking of the time he retired from the presidency, says of Mr. Buchanan: "He was, in fact, a religious man, and was accustomed to remember many of the duties required of a Church member, but he had never made a public confession of his faith nor connected himself formally with the Christian Church." When urged to do so by his friends during his public life he was wont to say that he would attend to this duty when he would once get out of politics or out of public life. After he left the presidential chair and returned to his home at Lancaster, he told his friends that now all he had to do was to prepare himself for another world. After careful study, he said that of all the Church confessions he had read he liked the Heidelberg Catechism the best, and could subscribe *ex animo* to all that it contained. Dr. Nevin told him that his proper place would be in the Presbyterian Church, to which his parents had belonged, but he said that he could not subscribe to the doctrine of predestination. He was then advised to join the Episcopal Church, of which his brother Edward was a clergyman, but this he said he could not do. At that time there was no congregation connected with Franklin and Marshall College, which was quite close to Mr. Buchanan's home, but there was talk of forming one. Mr. Buchanan said that he would be quite willing to connect himself with such a congregation as soon as it was organized. He expressed, however, his apprehension that he could not, because of his age, kneel with ease to receive the rite of confirmation. He was informed that in cases of elderly and infirm persons it was regarded as quite legitimate to lay hands on the candidate for confirmation in a standing posture. The organization of the congregation was delayed, and he, having been assured that he would not be required to adopt the doctrine of predestination, as taught in the symbolical books, was received into the Presbyterian Church in the city where he had been accustomed to worship.

In a diary kept by him while traveling in Russia was found

this entry: "Sunday, 16th of June, 1833, I went to the English Chapel and heard an excellent animated evangelical discourse from Rev. Matthew Camidge, the pastor. His text was 2 Peter iii. It was on the subject of the long-suffering of God with sinners and the repentance to which this should naturally lead. The judgment day will come by surprise, as many temporal judgments do, after long-suffering. There is to be a theatrical entertainment this evening in the open air at the garden of Nieschouchin, and afterwards a party at Madam Paschkoff's. My old Presbyterian notions will prevent me from attending either."

He was most methodical in his business habits, and was an indefatigable worker. When not in public life he kept no secretary, wrote all his letters himself, and kept his own accounts. He amassed what was then spoken of as a great fortune, being worth when he died about \$300,000. He wrote a great many letters. In one of his letters to his niece, Harriet Lane, he apologized for not having written the day before, saying that his mail averaged fifty letters a day, and that on the day prior to that he had received sixty-five. He was generous to the poor, but exact in his business transactions. I have heard the Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, who was a great friend of Buchanan, and by far the ablest man of his Cabinet, say that during Buchanan's administration he, Black, having indorsed largely for some of his friends and lost money thereby, was really in financial distress. He said to the President that it was necessary for him to resign from the Cabinet in order to earn some money, whereupon Mr. Buchanan asked him how much money he needed. Upon receiving his answer he at once handed him his check for the amount, taking his promissory note therefor. He never mentioned the matter to him again until, several years after he had retired to Wheatland, Mr. Black called on him and said to him: "I want to lift my note." Mr. Buchanan replied: "Are you sure that you can do it without any embarrassment to yourself?" Upon being assured by Judge Black that he had earned large sums of money and was quite able to pay, he produced the note and made a calculation as to the amount due. Judge Black also made a calculation, filled up his check, signed it, and handed it to him. Mr. Buchanan looked at the check and said: "You have made a mistake; your check is ten cents

too little." Whereupon Mr. Black handed over the extra ten cents.

Mr. Buchanan never accepted a railroad pass, but always paid fare. He never, while in public office, accepted a gift. On the day on which he was elected President of the United States, Mr. Unger, who then conducted a distillery close to Buchanan's birthplace, made a barrel of very fine whisky. He kept it for three years, and then sent it with his compliments to the President. Mr. Buchanan accepted it, but shortly after there came to Mr. Unger a package postmarked Washington, containing seventy-five dollars. Mr. Unger was at a loss to know where it came from, and showed it to Judge Carson, of Mercersburg, who was familiar with the writing of the President, and who at once informed him that the package had been addressed by the President's own hand. He never allowed any expense of any entertainment at the White House to be paid out of the public funds, but always insisted that what his salary did not pay for must be paid from his own private purse.

In October, 1860, the Prince of Wales, with a number of friends, visited Washington and were guests at the Executive Mansion. The entertainment of the Prince and his suite at the White House entailed a great deal of expense for extra servants and other things. Congress was never asked to pay any part of it. The British party was taken to Mt. Vernon on a revenue cutter, accompanied by President Buchanan, Miss Lane, and nearly all of the diplomatic corps, and the leading army, naval, and civil service officers. President Buchanan escorted his guests to Washington's tomb, and the great-grandson of George III. planted a tree near the grave of the arch rebel against that monarch's rule.

During Mr. Buchanan's administration a revenue cutter was built and named by the Secretary of the Treasury "Harriet Lane," in honor of the beautiful and accomplished niece who presided over the White House. Secretary Cobb determined that the vessel should be given a trial trip, and he invited the President, his Cabinet, the foreign Ministers, and their wives. The President would have prevented it had he heard of it before the foreigners were invited. Neither Mr. Buchanan nor Judge Black went on the trip, but remained together at the executive mansion. The morning after, the papers were filled with an account

of the lavish entertainment. After reading it the President said to the Attorney-General: "Who is to pay for this?" The reply was: "It is supposed that the government will foot the bills." "That shall not be," said the President; "I will pay the bills myself." At the next Cabinet meeting the President asked Mr. Cobb for an itemized account of the expenses of the trip, and he promised to furnish it.

As Judge Black and the Secretary of the Treasury were leaving the Cabinet room together Mr. Cobb said: "Black, what the devil does the old Squire mean about those bills?" Black repeated to him what the President had said. When the Cabinet met again, and the President asked for the bills, Mr. Cobb produced them receipted, having paid them from his own private purse.

Mr. Buchanan wrote a defense of his own administration. He purposely withheld it from publication until after the close of the civil war. He then placed the manuscript in the hands of our friend, John M. Cooper, saying that he supposed it would cost him considerable money to have it published. Mr. Cooper asked him how much he expected it would cost. He replied that he thought it ought not to cost him more than four or five thousand dollars, or that he would not like to expend more than that amount. Mr. Cooper said to him: "Suppose you leave the matter with me." Mr. Buchanan laughingly replied: "Take it, make out of it what you can, but I feel sure you will be back to see me to get the money to pay for the publication." The next day Mr. Cooper visited Appleton & Co., the publishers of New York City, and made arrangements for the publication of the book, he (Mr. Cooper) to receive a percentage of the profits—my recollection is that it was ten per cent. From this he realized some two or three thousand dollars.

Mr. Buchanan seems to have had a practical turn of mind, and to have been ready even in the small affairs of life to meet any emergency. A story is told of his one day traveling from Pittsburgh eastward, in a stagecoach in company with a party of gentlemen, amongst whom was Mr. Mackey, the father of Capt. W. H. H. Mackey, of our town. Somewhere between Somerset and Bedford it was observed that the burr had been lost from one of the spindles, and the wheel was about to leave the axle. There was no place near where a burr could be obtained, nor

where another stagecoach could be procured. The whole party, the driver as well as all the passengers, were very much excited and worried because of the trouble. Mr. Buchanan, looking around, espied a mountain cabin not far distant. Walking to it, he asked the inhabitants for an old shoe. The shoe was produced, and from it Mr. Buchanan cut the heel, then cutting a hole in the heel screwed it on the spindle, and the party traveled safely to Bedford.

Mr. Buchanan was opposed to the use of money in politics, and it can be said of him as has been said of another distinguished Franklin County boy, Thomas R. Bard, who has recently been elected a United States Senator from California, that he never spent even the price of a cigar to promote his own election. The present methods would doubtless be a great revelation to him.

Mr. Buchanan was an unflinching patriot, a great lawyer, and an eminent statesman. He has been much maligned. He was most severely criticised by an eminent soldier born in this county, in a book entitled "The Genesis of the Civil War." I have not read the book, but of it Gen. Horatio King says that the author was more willing to accept the testimony of the rebels Buchanan discharged from the service of the government than he was to believe the evidence of Gen. King and Judge Black. I have heard it said that he was a man of no great ability, yet at the age of twenty-five years, unassisted by any one, he defended Judge Franklin, the President Judge of the district composed of Lancaster, Lebanon, and York, against articles of impeachment by the Pennsylvania Legislature, and the respondent was acquitted.

On the part of the House of Representatives at Washington he conducted with marked force the trial of Judge Peck, who disbarred a lawyer and sent him to jail because he criticised one of his opinions.

In more than one debate in the House he was followed by Daniel Webster, instead of Webster leading him. His report on behalf of the minority of the Judiciary Committee of the House, made in 1831, when it was proposed by the majority of the committee to repeal the law which gave the Supreme Court appellate jurisdiction by writ of error to the State courts in cases where the constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States

are drawn in question, shows that he was a great constitutional lawyer, and his argument was so convincing that the bill was defeated by a large majority. The records of Congressional debate show that no important question was presented to either House during his service there in which he did not take a conspicuous part. A mere reference to each one of the measures which he advocated or opposed on the floor of Congress would make a paper too long for this occasion.

At the age of forty-one years he secured at the Russian court the first commercial treaty between that government and the United States. Any man who thinks he was not a diplomat should read of his dealings with Count Nesselrode, the Prime Minister of Russia and the most skilled diplomat of his age.

In his inaugural address Mr. Buchanan used these words: "It is our glory that, whilst other nations have extended their dominion with the sword, we have never acquired any territory except by a fair purchase; or, as in the case of Texas, by the voluntary determination of a brave, determined, and independent people to blend their destinies with our own." And again: "Next in importance to the maintenance of the constitution and the Union is the duty of preserving the government free from the taint or even suspicion of corruption. Public virtue is the vital spirit of republics, and history proves that when this has decayed, and the love of money has usurped its place, although the forms of free government may remain for a season, the substance has departed forever."

In a special message which he sent to Congress, protesting against the right of what was known as the Covode Committee (which had been appointed for the purpose of investigating whether the President had by money, patronage, or other improper means sought to influence the action of Congress or any committee thereof for or against the passage of any law appertaining to the rights of any State or Territory without any specifications) to act, because it referred to no particular act, and because it deprived him of the constitutional guards which, in common with every citizen of the United States, he possessed for his protection, and because it assailed his constitutional independence as a coördinate branch of government, he said, amongst other things: "I feel proudly conscious that there is no public act of my life which will not bear the strictest scrutiny,

I defy all investigation. Nothing but the basest perjury can sully my good name. I do not fear even this, because I cherish a humble confidence that the gracious Being who has hitherto protected and defended me against the shafts of falsehood and malice will not desert me now when I have become old and gray-headed. I can declare before God and my country that no human being (with one exception scarcely worthy of notice) has at any period of my life dared to approach me with a corrupt or dishonorable proposition."

The highest tribute paid to Mr. Buchanan's character or integrity is that, being in public life from the time he was twenty-two years of age until he was seventy-four years of age, with rare exceptions, his worst enemies never even accused him of wrongdoing.

In 1824 a story was circulated that Mr. Buchanan entered into an intrigue with Henry Clay, whereby Clay was to cast the vote of Kentucky for Andrew Jackson, thus making Jackson President of the United States instead of John Adams, and Jackson was in turn to make Clay Secretary of State. The story was originated by one Kramer, then a member of Congress from Pennsylvania. It was afterwards entirely refuted and shown conclusively to be a pure fabrication. Even that charge, as made, would possibly in this age of the world not be considered greatly to the discredit of an American statesman.

The Covode Committee above referred to was appointed on the 9th of March, 1860, on the eve of the presidential election. The resolution authorizing it was rushed through the House, under a suspension of the rules, and a call for the previous question, as will be seen upon an examination of the House Journal, pages 450 to 484. They took a large amount of testimony without any notice to the President. They examined witnesses upon every subject which might affect him, whether referred to in the resolution or not. This mass of testimony was referred to the House on the 16th of June, 1860, but the committee had failed to discover a single point upon which it could venture to rest any resolution of censure.

Col. A. K. McClure, in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* of the 6th of January, 1900, speaking of Mr. Buchanan, says: "He had an aggressively loyal Cabinet during the last few months of his administration, and when he retired, generally de-

nounced by the loyal sentiment of the country as a faithless executive, he earnestly supported the government in every measure necessary to suppress the rebellion and prevent the dismemberment of the republic. He died soon after the close of the war, a thoroughly honest and patriotic public servant, but widely misunderstood."

In a work recently published, entitled "The World's Best Orators," edited by the Hon. David J. Brewer, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, it is said: "Mr. Buchanan defined the policy which resulted in the Pacific Railroad and the enormous development of the Trans-Mississippi West. In view of the railroad development of the Pacific Coast and of the Atlantic cable to England, the Buchanan administration is, altogether aside from its bearing on the civil war, one of the most revolutionary periods of our history."

It was charged against Mr. Buchanan—and the charge is repeated to this day by those who have not cared to carefully investigate the matter—that on the eve of the rebellion, if he did not actually order, he at least did not prevent the removal of the government arms and munitions of war from Northern to Southern arsenals, so that on the breaking out of the rebellion they might be found in the most convenient places for the rebels. In the very beginning of the session of Congress, December, 1860, a committee was appointed to investigate this matter, and by a resolution they were instructed to inquire and report to the House, "to whom and at what price the public arms since January 1, 1860, had been disposed of." A majority of the committee was composed of Mr. Buchanan's political opponents. The chairman was Benjamin Stanton, of Ohio. They reported on the 9th of January, 1861. (See House Journal, page 156.) It was found that the Southern States, instead of receiving more than the quota to which they were entitled under the law for arming the militia, had received less.

Secretary Floyd did attempt, on the eve of his departure from the Cabinet, without the knowledge of the President, to transmit a number of cannon to the South, but before the order was executed he was out of the Cabinet, and the order was countermanded by his successor, Secretary Holt.

It has been said of Mr. Buchanan that he was a weak man. If an earnest effort to compromise the differences between the

North and the South, to avoid bloodshed and preserve the Union, made him weak, then he was a weak man.

Many have said: "Why didn't he do as Jackson did?" The answer is: The conditions were entirely different in Jackson's day. At that time South Carolina stood alone. She had the sympathy of no other State. Her conduct was condemned by all the States, and her own people were divided. In 1860 the people of South Carolina were united and were supported by all the cotton States, while the people of the North were not united. They became united only when the war began by firing upon, instead of from, Fort Sumter. The time has gone by when Mr. Buchanan's patriotism is impugned, and the charges of timidity, weakness, and treachery in the last weeks of his administration, once regarded by his countrymen as established history, have found their refutation in a closer study of his conduct and time, and it is now seen that his caution and moderation, as exhibited by his public acts after the election of Abraham Lincoln, are the surest proofs of his conscientious devotion to the Union.

To a man situated as he was during the long crisis that followed the presidential election of 1860 forbearance was not only a duty, but it was the supreme test of his patriotism. In the performance of this duty he was compelled to allow his motives to be misunderstood and misrepresented, and to accept the odium which followed him into his retirement. Time, he knew, would vindicate his fame, and it is the highest tribute to his patience, his manhood, and his statesmanship that he was willing to wait and trust to the future for his vindication.

It is difficult to realize, after five and thirty years of peace and the coming of a new epoch (conditions of which are altogether different from those that preceded it), the environment and limitations of a statesman of the old school on the eve of a civil war.

Mr. Buchanan was the last of our Presidents whose horizon was bounded by the limitations of the earlier years of the republic. To him the slavery question had been for years a specter which foreboded the dissolution of the Union. He had no love for slavery, as he declared in the Senate many times. In the abstract he vowed himself opposed to it in so many words. He considered the existence of domestic slavery, as he declared, a weak point in our institutions, and while he avowedly disliked

it, he always earnestly discountenanced any infringement upon it by the people of the free States as against the States which allowed it to exist. To him interference with it always seemed a prelude to the dissolution of the Union. In his mind this specter was always before him, and it had a peculiar potency, for it presented itself to him as a constant menace and cause of alarm among the Southern people for the safety of their wives and children. It will not do to answer that these were morbid and overwrought fancies. Belief in the danger of a servile insurrection, while slavery existed, was almost universal, and the menace to the Union was only too real, as the fact that Mr. Buchanan was brought face to face with civil war, as the result of the election of a Republican President, clearly proves. For seventy years American statesmen were constrained to believe in the constitutional guarantees of slavery, but Mr. Buchanan's belief in this doctrine and his willingness to observe these guarantees made him neither a secessionist nor a believer in secession. Among the many misconceptions and misrepresentations that followed Mr. Buchanan into retirement, the only one that need be considered at this time, in addition to those we have already considered, is as to his denial of the right of the Federal government under the constitution to coerce a State. As a legal proposition Mr. Buchanan's view was unquestionably sound, but he always believed and acted upon the belief that the government had the power to enforce the authority of Congress against the people of all the States.

Secession was not the act of a State in its sovereign capacity. Horace Greeley was willing to accept secession as a right of the seceding States, and "let the erring sisters go." Winfield Scott, commander in chief of the army, actually proposed to divide the States into four sections. There was, however, no theoretic or practical difference in the attitude of Abraham Lincoln and James Buchanan. So far as lay in his power, Mr. Buchanan endeavored to enforce the laws of the United States upon individuals within the limits of all the States. Mr. Lincoln never attempted anything more than this.

There was a great difference between coercing a State and compelling obedience of the people of a State, as the whole country learned to recognize when the war period was succeeded by the period of reconstruction.

I sincerely believe that the universal good will and love of the Union that now holds the States together under the constitution are the results of Mr. Buchanan's courageous statement of the principles that underlie our federal system.

Instead of the timidity, weakness, and treachery once so freely charged upon Mr. Buchanan, we are now able to see the patient, wise, and brave statesman, the dignified and patriotic American, calmly waiting for posterity to do justice to his conduct, his motives, and his statesmanship.

Indeed, none are heard to criticise Mr. Buchanan to-day, either as a man, a patriot, or a statesman, unless it be the uninformed or the prejudiced. I could not conscientiously lay down my pen here did I not at least say a word as to the lofty beacon the nobility of life of James Buchanan set burning for the guidance of our earnest, ambitious young men. He sprang from our own soil. He was born in comfort, not in luxury. His youth was one of frugality and industry. His school days were improved by diligent application, his manhood developed all the sturdy, wholesome traits of his boy life. The father's watchful care and tender advice, the mother's anxious prayers and tender solicitude were bountifully rewarded. The lad who fell asleep at night to the lullaby of forest trees, or who was affrighted in his trundle-bed while the mountain storm raged, and who awakened in the morning twilight with the song of untrained birds and the lowing of untethered kine, became the gentleman of the most fashionable of foreign courts, the peer of nobility, the diplomat, the statesman—nay, greater than all, the President of his own country. Who among these, our own young men, our sons or our sons' sons, may not in the rise and growth, in the unblemished private life, in the honored public career of James Buchanan see much to emulate in manliness, in purity, in patriotic devotion, and in humble submission to, simple affection for, and faithful following of the Master?

THE RENFREW FARM.

BY HON. M. A. FOLTZ, CHAMBERSBURG, PA.

DUFFIELD, PA., June 7, 1901.

Dear Sir: Attending the meeting of the Scotch-Irish Congress at Mont Alto Park on May 31, one was carried back in thought to ye olden times, to the days when our forefathers wrestled with and conquered the stubborn wilderness. Often in the boyhood days of the writer were old stories retold of the primitive but active life of the old settlers. Superstition of course cut a large figure in the mental make-up of many persons in those days, or many stories would have had no foundation to rest on.

An old legend that I will try to outline belonged to a farm near Duffield, the property of the late Hannah and Sarah Renfrew. But as John Renfrew, great-grandfather of the writer, preserved the tale and gave it to the following generations, some outline of his life should be given. He was born in Scotland in 1751, emigrating to this country a short time previous to the revolutionary war, in which he took part, serving in an infantry regiment until the close of the war, when he drifted to this county to hammer a home out of the wilderness. The first business he was engaged in after coming here was to run, on his own account, what would now be called a moonshine distillery. Scotchlike, he was on the make, and felt as did the Bard of Avon: "Awa, awa wi the excise man!"

The exact locality of the moonshine outfit is not so certain. The late Mrs. George Wreist could tell that one of the Covenanters divines of those days, at the close of a service held in the barn of Alexander Thompson, of Scotland, told his congregation that there was one John Renfrew distilling whisky—and burning chestnut wood, so there would be no smoke—at a place known now as the old Caledonia Iron Works. Why the preacher gave his people the information, we can only conjecture. It might have been merely precautionary, or he may have wished to enlighten them as to where to purchase a pure and cheap article, as the maker was an expert distiller. But I suppose not the latter. The moonshine business came to a stop suddenly.

After putting all his means into whisky, he sent it to Baltimore by wagons, and from there by water to Charleston, S. C., consigned to a commission merchant, who never made any returns.

The farm at Duffield known as the Renfrew farm, previous to becoming the property of John Renfrew, belonged to an Irishman of the name Alexander. I should mention that in those days every large farmer had a distillery to work up the grain of his own growing, as well as the surplus of his neighbors who wished it changed into the liquid form; all work done on shares of the finished product. The small farmer carried his rye on horseback to the distillery and exchanged it for the fiery Scotch whisky, which was often carried home in kegs made of sassafras logs hollowed out, the head fitted and held in place without the use of hoops. Some of Alexander's ancestors, who owned the farm spoken of (so the story was handed down), had murdered a peddler in Ireland, cutting his legs off at the knees so he could be buried in his own box. But the dismembered peddler would not stay buried, but came back in spook form to annoy and terrify the family and their descendants. The peddler's wraith was given the name of "Stumpy," and was a most active spook, appearing to the family in the cut-off form at any hour of the day or night. In those days cooking stoves were not common; the food was all prepared in the open fireplace. One of Stumpy's pranks was to seat himself on the crookstick to which the pots were suspended in the chimney, and throw dirt and soot into whatever the family were cooking. On occasions as suited his mood, he was perched on the top of the chimney, shutting off the draft and driving the smoke back into the room, to the great annoyance of the family. Stumpy was gifted with speech, and was continually reminding the household that he would not stay buried; would call them "nice, nice people, to cut a man off at the knees and put him in his *ain* box."

Part of the time of Alexander's ownership of the farm, which was twelve years, John Renfrew was hired as distiller. Whether the Scotchman helped along the Stumpy superstition, was not handed down to late generations. We might be presuming too much to think so, for all he was a Scotchman. Anyhow, Alexander sold his farm to John Renfrew, the story goes, to fly from the wraith called Stumpy, as his father had done from Ireland. I might mention that the farm buildings at that time stood near the double well, or spring, that has excited some in-

terest of late as to when it was dug and by whom. The conjecture that the Indians or some prehistoric race had put the descending steps and the archway or tunnel to the well proper, doesn't seem to be founded on sound reasoning. If it is claimed as the work of the red men, our knowledge of his aversion to work would banish the theory, for the reason that he could get all the water he wanted from two springs within one-quarter of a mile from where the well was dug. But perhaps the prehistoric claim has gone too far to recall.

To close, in trying to write up the Stumpy story and its connection with the former owner of the farm, I have digressed into biography of a later owner as well as some details of whisky manufacture in those days.

Yours respectfully,

J. H. RENFREW.

THE ULSTERMAN IN THE SCHUYLKILL VALLEY, WITH NOTES RELATING TO THE PORTER FAMILY.

BY SAMUEL GORDON SMYTH.

WHEN William Penn first caused this fair domain to be opened for settlement, he welcomed the proscribed and persecuted races of Europe to a home and to the same privileges as were offered those coming from his native but better-favored land. But whether those who came were refugees from political despotism and religious intolerance, or the merely speculative spirits of enterprise and adventure—the one seeking sanctuary, the other wealth—all found liberty with success within the ample borders of the province. They were safeguarded and protected by a form of government such as had never before existed, which has stood the test of centuries, and is to-day the admiration of the world—an unchallenged consummation of beneficence and wisdom. Out of these conditions and the composite elements which peopled Pennsylvania has arisen a Commonwealth of matchless richness and eminence.

In the roll of counties of this State many claim their pioneers from the ranks of the Scotch-Irish, so called, upon whom fell at first the advance, then organization, and finally governmental responsibility. Montgomery County is not one of these, but has long been regarded as a typical German development, and to this day, in certain parts, the language and customs of the fatherland obtain in spite of the more cosmopolitan character of other of her citizens and neighbors.

There was a time in the earlier decades of the eighteenth century when Montgomery County, then a part of Philadelphia County, contained about fifty per cent of German palatinates from the Rhine provinces, while the other half was made up of English, Welsh Quakers, and a trace of Scotch-Irish settlers; but long since this ratio has changed. Through natural increase and extraordinary tides of emigration the palatine became the

dominate citizen, since which time there has been but little, if any, assimilating process, either in affinity of blood, taste, or temperament sufficiently strong to neutralize this expanding Teutonic influence.

While the English colonists selected locations convenient to Philadelphia for their communities, and the Welsh projecting beyond them, the German, however, settled at various, and often advanced, points within the limits of the county. The Scotch-Irish came in later, but located, "nowhere in sufficient numbers to form a distinct settlement."¹ So, saving a few scattering households, this county has the distinction of lacking, until late in the eighteenth century, a colony of the real stirring, strenuous Ulsterman.

Although Ireland was being rapidly depopulated after Cromwell's wars till the period of the American revolution, at the rate of several thousand each year of her best and most industrious people, they were attracted to other parts of this province, and, in much greater number, to other colonies. Of those coming here the majority preferred pushing on toward the frontiers of civilization, along the borders, the "buffer line," between Pennsylvania and her neighbors, Maryland and Virginia, here their restless disposition and their taste for aggressiveness found a more ready opportunity for satisfaction than a domicile in a region tranquillized by a generation or two of Swedish watermen and Welsh Quakers could offer, such as they found the vicinity of Philadelphia to be a half century or so before Montgomery County was set off from its parent, in 1784.

Scotch-Irish chronology with us begins with a few families, some of whom filtered through from the main stream of migration flowing west and south from the ports of New Castle and Philadelphia between the years 1717 and 1773; and others, of whom we may be reasonably sure, drifted in from the currents setting southward from New England about 1738.² As to these we find substantial foundation in the facts that in a "Memorial" sent to "Colonel" Samuel Shute, Governor General of New England, by residents of the North of Ireland are to be found many names, such as are known among us here, and who, in their petition, style themselves "Neighbors, gentlemen, ministers,

¹ Bean's Hist. Montgomery Co., pp. 138 *et seq.*

² Day's Hist. Coll. Pa., p. 525.

farmers, and tradesmen," and asking for encouragement to transport themselves and their families thither.

Among the signers to this document whose names have a familiar sound to us are these: John Porter, V. D. M.; James Thomson, V. D. M.; James Patterson, George Curry, Daniel Todd, Peter and William Christy, Archibald McCook, M. A.; Francis Ritchie; Robert, Samuel, and William Boyd; James Craig; Yeatts Fulton; Samuel and Robert Smith; James Stewart; Alexander Kidd; John Galbraith; James Knox; Robert Lamon; James Hoge; Alexander McGregor; and many others among the four hundred and odd persons who signed this ancient historical document on March 26, 1718.³

As a result of negotiations thus opened up with Gov. Shute five ship loads of Ulsterman crossed the sea in 1719 and landed in New England. The greater part of them settled along the valley of the Merrimac, founding the towns of Antrim, Coleraine, and Londonderry in what is now the State of New Hampshire; others proceeded to Casco Bay, now in the State of Maine,⁴ and a few going in other directions, some stopping at Worcester, in the colony of Massachusetts. All these emigrants came from the valley of the Bann and the Bush; from the banks of Lough Neagh and the Foyle; the slopes of Down, and the mountains of Donegal. The townlands of Antrim, Coleraine, Kilrea, Ballymoney, and 'Derry yielded them up. They were Presbyterians, and came with their faith and their ministers.

Those that settled at Worcester soon found the prejudices of the Congregational community breaking upon them in stormy and bitter animosity, until at last the newcomers, searching for religious liberty, were forced to abandon the town, and others too, for that matter, and become wanderers again throughout the country. There can be little doubt that many of them came to Pennsylvania,⁵ and in all human probability settled in the townships of Worcester, Whitpain, Norriton, and Providence, now in the county of Montgomery, from about 1738.

The names we have mentioned would seem to indicate that these points were the final stage in the migration of at least a portion of the New England contingent. To these from time to

³ Egle's Hist. Dauphin Co., Pa., pp. 16, 17.

⁴ Parker's History of Londonderry, N. H.

⁵ Day's History Coll. of Pa.

time afterwards were added other families with names no less familiar to us than those of New England already given, and indicating in their nomenclature a common base of migration from certain localities in Ulster.

There were the Hamils, Shannons, Kennedys, McLanes, Wilsons, McFarlands, Armstrongs, Stuarts, McGlatherys, and others. Some no doubt allied by blood, others by a community of interests, but all, as their subsequent history has shown us, contributing an element of the most desirable character to the colonial population of this county. Many of these Scotch-Irish settlers in themselves, or through their descendants, have advanced the material prosperity of our commonwealth, adding significant luster to her civic and martial annals, elevating not only statesmanship and patriotism, but also the professional, commercial, industrial, and agrarian pursuits of our people, so that Montgomery County to-day is proud thus through them to have been a factor in the uplift into the prosperous and peerless position Pennsylvania holds in the constellation of States. With this general introduction we come now to the specific subject of this paper, an example of the Ulsterman of the Schuylkill Valley.

Robert Porter, according to a brief statement in one of our local histories regarding the Porter family, came from Londonderry, N. H., about 1740, and settled in Worcester township, Philadelphia County, Pa. He was born in the year 1698 on the island of Burt, within nine miles of Londonderry, Ireland, where the old ancestral home is said to be still standing in the midst of the beetling crags and rugged grandeurs of the wild 'Derry coast. He emigrated to New England in 1720, when in his twenty-second year, probably with a group of kinsmen or neighbors, to that haven in Massachusetts provided by the "encouragement" of Gov. Shute.

Robert Porter married Lilleous, the daughter of John and Jane Christy. Their eldest son was probably John Porter, who was born in 1728; and at least four other children followed him before their parents sought this province, in 1740.

In 1754 Robert Porter bought a tract of land lying along the Schippack road in Whitpain township of Anthony and Phoebe Morris and others. It was a part of that extensive plantation which had already been transferred from Whitpain into the

hands of trustees, to be sold for the benefit of Whitpain's creditors. Here the Porters for a time resided, Robert being one of the prominent citizens of the township in his lifetime, and an elder in the old Norriton Presbyterian Church from 1741 till his death in 1770. Mrs. Porter died within a twelvemonth, in her sixty-third year. Both are buried in the graveyard of the old church of which Robert was so long an influential member, and where many others of the family also lie buried.

Robert and Lilleous Porter were the parents of fourteen children, all of whom grew to maturity, and many of them married and were the ancestors of lines of distinguished citizens, soldiers, and jurists.

There were nine sons, among them John, Andrew, Robert, Charles, and Stephen. They became farmers, tradesmen, and professional men. Several, as officers in the Revolution, served their country with bravery and distinction.

The daughters were: Lillieous, born —, married April 4, 1761, Andrew Wilson; Mary, born in 1742, died (unmarried) September, 1760; Elizabeth, born —, died —, married James Patterson; Jane, born —, died 1770, married February 16, 1765, Samuel McCrea; and Rosina, born —, died —.

The sons were:

1. John was born in 1728, and married Mary Shannon. Their children were: Robert, Joseph, Elizabeth, John, Benjamin, and Mary, who married into the McGlathery family. John Porter was an innkeeper at the intersection of the Skippack with the Swedes's Ford road. Both he and his wife lived to be over ninety years of age. Both are buried at Norriton.

2. Robert Porter, born in 1739, and died in 1768.

3. Andrew Porter, afterwards the distinguished general of that name, was born in 1743, and died in 1813. He was married twice; first to Elizabeth McDowell, and second to Elizabeth Parker, who was also allied to a famous family of revolutionary soldiers. Of the issue of these marriages we shall speak later.

4. Charles, born —, died —; married Bathseba Elton (?) Their children were: Robert E., who married his cousin Mary, the daughter of Andrew; Elizabeth, who married Robert Lane Shannon, and had John L., Charles P., Bathseba E., Samuel H., Mary L., Harriet, Jane H., Stephen, and Benjamin F.

Charles Porter served in the revolutionary army as ensign in

1770 of the Seventh Maryland Regiment, was afterwards lieutenant, till 1780.⁶ He was granted three hundred acres of military land in Armstrong township, Westmoreland County, Pa., in 1786.⁷

5. Stephen Porter, the youngest son, born 1751, and died 1832, was also twice married. His second wife was Margaret McFarland, to whom he was united by Rev. William Tennant, in 1789, at the Abington Presbyterian Church. Two children of his first wife were Stephen and Ann, both dying in infancy. His children by the second marriage were: Francis, Elizabeth, who married Robert Stinson and were the parents of Henry O., Francis C., Stephen P., and Dr. Mary H. Stinson; Willamina, who married Robert Hamil; Margaret and Mary Porter.

Stephen Porter saw service in the revolutionary war as a lieutenant of the Flying Camp in 1776, under Col. Isaac Hughes, and when appointed to join the Boundary Commission as commissary, January 13, 1786, he was mentioned as Capt. Stephen Porter.

Perhaps the most prominent of the sons of Robert Porter, the Ulster settler of the Schuylkill Valley, was Andrew.

The career of Andrew Porter and that of his posterity have illumined the annals of our State, and we claim for them a distinction so unique that it is doubtful if there is another county in the commonwealth that can produce such an array of representative men as were the descendants of this revolutionary hero and patriot.

Andrew Porter was born in Worcester township, Philadelphia County (now Montgomery), on September 24, 1743. His temperament and inclination as a boy were opposed to the monotonous routine and drudgery of a farmer's life, to which his father had attempted to train him, and, hopeless in this, Robert Porter thought to make a carpenter of him, and turned him over to an older son as an apprentice. The second venture proved as discouraging as the first, and Andrew was finally allowed to pursue his bent for literature and mathematics, for which he had displayed an uncommon taste. Believing that he would make a better schoolmaster than either a farmer or mechanic, his father sent him to the best pedagogue in the district, Patrick Menan

⁶ Heitman's Register of Continental Officers, pp. 333, 334.

⁷ Pa. Arch., 3d Series.

by name, who then lived on a fifty-acre farm near the cross roads at Marble Hall, in Whitemarsh township, and who, in addition to cultivating his little tract, practiced surveying and taught higher branches than could be obtained by the local youth from the itinerant schoolmaster.

It was here, too, that Menan taught, and Porter met, another scholar who not only exercised a healthy influence upon Porter, but was also destined to greatness. This boy, much older and more advanced than Andrew Porter, was David Rittenhouse. The Rittenhouse and Porter families were neighbors, though living many miles away from Menan's school. The distance, however, did not deter Andrew Porter from walking back and forth each day to his studies. The two youths were much together, and Porter profited by the association as well as from the encouragement and assistance received from his older friend. He not only helped him in his problems, but lent him valuable books and otherwise facilitated the instructions Porter was receiving until he was sufficiently qualified to open a small school near his father's home. From this meager beginning Porter advanced till broader experience and development fitted the young master for a larger sphere of usefulness.

The opportunity was presently offered Porter to take the mastership of an English and mathematical school in Philadelphia. This he accepted, and thus an auspicious career opened before him. He was married on March 10, 1767, to Elizabeth McDowell. His teaching was successful, and his school was filled with pupils, and his future was bright with promise of prosperity.

Mrs. Porter died in 1773, leaving him with five small children. They were: Robert, born in 1768; Elizabeth, born in 1769; Mary, born in 1771; and the twins, Andrew and William, who were born in 1773, a very short time before their mother died. This affliction was a crushing blow to the father and master, who found comfort only in harder study. He labored with such zeal that when the Revolution broke upon the country Andrew Porter had attained a high reputation in his profession, and was generally recognized as a scholar of uncommon ability, and in matters of science was fairly equipped for the destiny awaiting him.

In 1776, while the country rang with martial sounds, Philadelphia had organized her navy for the defense of the Delaware,

and Porter had caught the spirit of the times, and, true to his racial instinct, had found the opportunity to recruit and drill a company of marines. On June 19, 1776, casting aside forever his profession, he entered actively into the service of his country. On that day he was appointed captain of marines and assigned to duty on board the frigate *Effingham*.

It developed later that Capt. Porter was better qualified for service in the land forces, and he was accordingly transferred and given a command in Col. John Lamb's Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Artillery.

At the battle of Trenton Capt. Porter saw his first hard service, and there "he received, on the field in person, the commendation of Gen. Washington for his conduct in action."

He took part in the terrible conflict at Brandywine, and at Germantown lost the greater part of his company, where his men were either killed or captured. At Valley Forge he suffered with the others in the common wretchedness and despair which marked the lowest ebb of events in the army of the Revolution and darkened for a time the hopes of the American people. Here, too, he took the oath of allegiance and fidelity, which was administered to him by Gen. Knox on May 19, 1778, to "support, maintain, and defend the United States as captain of artillery," etc.

Capt. Porter's second wife, to whom he was married May 8, 1777, was Elizabeth Parker, the daughter of Alexander Parker. She was born in Montgomery County November 15, 1750. A brother was Lieut. (later Maj.) Parker, of the Continental army.

Capt. Porter participated in the campaign at Princeton, at Monmouth, and in other actions until the spring of 1779, when he was detached with his command and ordered to join Gen. Clinton at Albany for service in that famous expedition of Gen. Sullivan against the Six Nations, who were then devastating the Wyoming Valley settlements. He was present and assisted Clinton in the novel undertaking of raising the waters of Lake Ostego, the outlet of which, in order to convey the troops to Tioga Point, was dammed, and the level raised three feet, when, by creating an artificial freshet, the boats containing the forces were conveyed to their destination.

The battle of August 29 of that year brought Sullivan's campaign against the Indians to a successful close. Capt. Porter,

with his command, marched to Morristown and rejoined the army, now about going into winter quarters, and continued with it.

On January 1, 1781, Capt. Porter was transferred to the Fourth Regiment Pennsylvania Artillery, commanded by Col. Thomas Proctor, continuing as captain until March of the following year, when he was appointed to a majority, to date from April 19, 1781.¹³ Previous to his advancement there had been some contention among certain of its officers concerning their respective claims to priority of rank, and these differences led to tragic consequences.

Capt. Porter became involved in some misunderstanding with Maj. Benjamin Eustace, of the Massachusetts Line, who was at the time holding the rank of major in the Fourth Regiment of Artillery, although his position therein was not acknowledged by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.¹⁴ It happened that Capt. Porter, entering a coffeehouse, heard some one say: "He is nothing but a d—— schoolmaster!" Porter, finding that these words had proceeded from Maj. Eustace, asked whether they applied to him. The answer showed that they were so applied. Porter rejoined, "I have been a schoolmaster, sir, and have not forgotten my vocation," and thereupon, drawing his sword, struck Maj. Eustace with the back of it on the shoulder. This promptly led to a meeting between the two after efforts had been made to reconcile the dispute. The duel took place at the southeast corner of Ninth and Arch Streets, in what was for many years afterwards the garden of Gen. Cadwalader. Maj. Eustace was instantly killed—shot through the heart—the date of his death being October 6, 1781.¹⁵ A court-martial by the military authorities tried Capt. Porter, and acquitted him; but more than this, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, at a meeting held March 12, 1782, took this action: "Ordered, that Capt. Porter be promoted to be major of the Fourth Regiment of Artillery, by resolution of Congress annexed to the Line of Pennsylvania, vice Maj. Eustace, deceased; and that Capt. Isaac Craig be promoted to be major of the same regiment, Maj. Porter's commission to bear date the next day following the de-

¹³ Pa. Arch., 2d Ser., Vol. XI., p. 201.

¹⁴ Ibid., Vol. IX., pp. 497-499.

¹⁵ Ibid., 2d Ser., Vol. XI., p. 201, and Pa. Mag. of Hist., Vol. IV., p. 288.

cease of Maj. Eustace, and Maj. Craig's commission the day next following the date of Maj. Porter's commission.¹⁶

During the early fall of 1781, while preparations were being made for the siege of Yorktown, Maj. Porter was ordered to take charge of the laboratory in Philadelphia. He made some objection to the proposed change, which brought forth the following letter to him from Gen. Washington: "You say that you are desirous of being placed in that situation in which you can render your country efficient service. Our success depends much on the manner in which our cartridges, bombs, and matches are prepared. The eye of science is required to supervise their preparation; and if the information which Gen. Knox, who knows you well and intimately, is to be depended upon, then there is no officer in the army better qualified than yourself for the station I have assigned you."¹⁷

At the conclusion of the war the Pennsylvania Artillery was reduced to a peace footing, and when its reorganization was completed, January 1, 1783, the Fourth Artillery consisted of four companies, with two field officers. Lieut. Col. Porter, who had been advanced in rank December 24, 1782, was made lieutenant colonel commandant, the highest rank; Isaac Craig, major; Robert Porter, a son of the Colonel, and quite a youth, was given a second lieutenancy of one of the companies.¹⁸

Late in the year 1783 Col. Porter retired from military service and returned to civil pursuits more in line with his former profession. About this time he had been offered, but had declined, the chair of mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania.

In September of the same year the Executive Council of the State determined upon the survey of the western boundary dividing Pennsylvania from Virginia, from an extension of Mason and Dixon's line at its then western limit, to Lake Erie on the north. It was to be fixed by astronomical observation. At a subsequent meeting held early in 1784, the Council appointed Rev. John Ewing, D.D., David Rittenhouse, John Lukens, and Thomas Hutchins, Esqs., to be a Commission for this purpose,

¹⁶ Colonial Records, Vol. XIII., p. 223, and Pa. Arch., 2d Ser., Vol. XI. p. 201.

¹⁷ Pa. Mag. of Hist., Vol. IV., p. 265.

¹⁸ Pa. Arch., Vol. IX., p. 725.

and Andrew Porter was appointed, April 7, 1784, Commissary to attend them on the expedition.

A start was made toward the execution of the work in that year, but Dr. John Ewing, who, in addition to this special work, was also pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, and later Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, finding himself unable to continue his duties as Commissioner, by reason of this and other responsibilities, resigned on March 26, 1785. On the following 5th of May Col. Andrew Porter was appointed his successor, while the Colonel's brother, Capt. Stephen Porter, was given charge of the commissariat.¹⁹

"In this part of the work, situated thirty miles beyond any of the inhabitants, the Commissioners were greatly assisted by the diligence and indefatigable activity of Col. Porter, their Commissary, to whose industry in providing everything necessary, and prudence in managing the business in his department with the utmost economy, the State is greatly indebted." This refers to a report made by the Western Boundary Commission to the Executive Councils, December 23, 1784.²⁰

It is needless for us to pursue the course of events of the next few years, as the recital of Porter's part in this great work is virtually the history of the Commission. The personnel of this body occasionally changed, but Col. Porter remained throughout, not only completing the survey to its northern terminus, but running the northern boundary as well between Pennsylvania and New York.

By the establishment of the western boundary Pennsylvania's claim to the territory west of Pittsburg was definitely fixed, and settled the long controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, which at one time was being secretly considered for a new State to include a part of Ohio and portions of Virginia and Pennsylvania, with Pittsburg as its seat of government. More than this, it gave the State an outlet to that great inland sea, Lake Erie.²¹

While laying out and marking these lines the Commission had to do actual pioneering through the wilderness. David Rittenhouse says in his journal, in the approach to Lake Erie: "They

¹⁹ Col. Rec., Vol. XIV., p. 402.

²⁰ Peyton's Hist. of Augusta, p. 134.

²¹ Pa. Mag. of Hist., Vol. IV., p. 2861.

suddenly emerged from the gloomy, uninhabited desert into a habitable country, where we could once more see the heavens around us, a sight we have not been blessed with for five weeks past," and again he makes this reference in his journal to our subject: "Col. Porter is everything I could wish."²²

Besides running these lines, the Commission was required to make other observations; to note the physical topography of the country, its hills, streams, mountains, landmarks; to report on the character of the soil, mineral and timber lands, natural routes for public roads; and, in a word, gather all information that would be useful and valuable for the future. All this data was collected and is contained in various reports sent to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and one may find them scattered through the colonial records and the Pennsylvania archives.

For the purpose of preserving the names of some of those connected with these expeditions, rather than for any connection they may have with the subject of this paper, the writer deems it best to note them here, with apologies for the digression.

Rev. John Ewing, David Rittenhouse, Andrew Porter, Thomas Hutchins, Andrew Elliot, Col. Alex McLean, Commissioners; Col. Andrew Porter, Capt. Stephen Porter, Capt. Robert Porter, Maj. William Armstrong, Commissaries; John Lukens, John Adlum, Surveyors; Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, Col. Neville, Robert Brooke, Mr. Tyanson, Mr. Cross, attaches; Robert Bedford, Aaron Mills, Samuel Daniel, Gabriel Atkins, James Welsh, axmen.

Col. Porter's journal will be found at length in the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History," for 1880, Volume IV. It is an interesting chronicle of the daily life and experiences of the party on the expeditions. Recently a fragment of his journal relating to the northern boundary has been found. It has never been published, and now, through the courtesy of Miss Agnes Stinson, great-grandniece of Col. Porter, we are permitted to reproduce it here, to give a bit of ancient flavor to our narrative.

"Tuesday, September 3, 1787. Camp on Kyintona (distance one and one-half miles from Konewago) Creek this morning set

²² Barton's Memoirs, pp. 314-316.

out on a croos aboard the Alliance in company with Messrs. Ellicott and Porter, Mr. Adlum, Tyanson, etc. Our numbers twelve up the river Konewago from this place, up the river is from forty to sixty yards wide, the land level and good, the timber white walnut and hickory, cherry, oak, sugar maple, beech, pine, etc. The banks are clothed with rye, buckwheat, oats, cowcumber, hop and pea vines, etc. This day passed two large branches coming in on the north, and encamped two miles up the Cheddughque [Chautauqua] branch, this branch the water runs exceeding swift, seven miles.

"September 4. Took an early breakfast and proceeded up Chedaughque at ten o'clock, came to the Chedaughque Lake, twenty-eight miles long and in places four miles wide, proceeded up this lake and encamped four miles from the head, the land on this lake appears to be good and level and abundance of meadow ground, timber, oak, cherry, shellbark, sugar, beech, etc.

"September 5. Breakfast early and went to the head of the lake, then left our canoe and proceeded along on old Nagg's road that formerly was used by the French to Lake Eary nine miles; then dined and drank hearty of the water (mixed with a little good brandy), and returned to our canoe, and went down to our camp where we had left our tents, etc.

"Friday, 6th, 1787. Breakfasted early and went down the Chedaughque Lake, taking the canoe of the lake and judging the distance by time. The weather cloudy, prevented latitude of this lake to be taken; encamped on the Konewago this night, etc.

"7th. This morning br——, and proceeded down the river, taking the coorse and distance as will appear in the map, and camp on Kyintona at one o'clock, where we dined with our whole party on the exallent piece of roasted beef, etc.

"9th. Our camp embarked at the mouth of Kyintona, and proceeded down the Konewago and Alleghany Rivers, and arrived at Venango on French Creek the 11th day of September: then took aboard a supply of provision, and proceeded up French Creek and arrived at the line on the 19th, where we found a part of our men, horses, cattle, etc. [Some pages missing here] . . . this creek exceeding any of the western streams that I have seen for an extensive boody of excellent

lands, and is canoeable for eighty or ninety miles from its confluence with the Allegany.

"October 2. Fixed the latitude stone on a bank on the west side of French Creek, one hundred and twenty-seven miles and thirty-eight chains from the Dolleway River, forty-two North Latitude then embarked and went down this stream twenty miles, and went up a stream that Fort Le Beef is on. On that stream about one-half a mile below Le Beef there is a lake of about five hundred acres of water which we went through and arrived at Fort Le Beef on Wednesday, 3d, where the old fort was plain to be seen. On Friday, 5th, went on with our pack horses along the old French wagon road that bares N. 25 W. leading to prisqucol [Presque Isle] on Lake Eary. Our northern boundary crossed this road about five miles from Le Beef, then went along the Random Line till we struck Lake Eary on the 8th day of October, about four miles from the northwest boundary, an excellent piece of land and timber."

Upon the completion of the work of the Boundary Commission, in 1787, Col. Porter returned to the farm at Norristown, a plantation which he had bought, May 10, 1786, of Alexander McCaman. In the title deeds Col. Andrew Porter is recited as of West Cain Township, Lancaster County, Pa., where his name is found among other taxables in the Porter family in 1785.

Col. Porter named his plantation "Selma." It was formerly a portion of the large estate of Charles Norris, and lies within the present borough limits of Norristown, and is owned and occupied at present by Joseph Fornance, Esq. Mrs. Fornance is a lineal descendant of Capt. David Knox, a revolutionary patriot whose descendants have possessed this property for the past eighty years. The subsequent career of Col. Porter was one of continual activity, both in public as well as in private life. His distinguished services to the State were alternated with periods of rest and recuperation at his Norriton plantation, upon which he had built a beautiful mansion, and had otherwise improved and developed the property. While at home he served his friends and neighbors in positions of trust and honor.

In common with many of his comrades, friends, and neighbors, Col. Porter was a member of the Masonic fraternity. During the period between 1766 and 1789, Lodge No. 8, Free and Accepted Masons, perambulated between various points in that

part of Philadelphia (now Montgomery) County adjacent to Valley Forge. While the Continental army occupied its slopes there can be but little doubt that Masonic light permeated the winter camp and helped to dispel the gloom from many a wearied soldier's heart and mind. There is more than passing interest in the fact that the records of Lodge No. 8 contain the names of many officers and others of historic note during this time. Among its membership were Brothers Persifor Frazer, Col. John Bull, Robert Shannon, William Richardson Atlee, James Morris, John Rutter, Lieut. Col. Isaac Hughes, John Cadwallader, Algernon Roberts, James (Jr.) and Robert Parker. Visiting brethren were: Gens. Varmun, Francis A. Swaine, and Peter Muhlenburg; Cols. Andrew Porter, William Dewes, John Bartholomew, William Dean, Francis Nichols, and Caleb North; Capts. Ashmead, John McClellan, Caraher, and John Davis. Other visitors were: Benjamin Rittenhouse, William Moore Smith, Jonathan Bayard Smith, Gavin Hamilton, John McCrea, and Henry Pawling.

On the retirement of Isaac Whelen, of Chester County, in 1800, from the Commission on Connecticut Land Claims arising out of controversies among the Luzerne Company settlers Col. Porter was selected to fill the vacancy. His colleagues on the Board were his old companions in arms, Gens. Boude and Irvine. Porter resigned the appointment in the following year, and was afterwards chosen to command the first brigade, Second Division, Pennsylvania Militia, and at a little time later, Gen. Peter Muhlenberg having removed to Philadelphia, Gen. Porter succeeded to the command of the Second Division as major general.

During Gov. Simon Snyder's term the post of Surveyor General of the State, which had been previously held by Samuel Cochrane, was vacated. To this office Gov. Snyder appointed his old friend, Gen. Porter, who was eminently fitted for the post. This was in 1809, and in this position Gen. Porter continued to serve till his death, in 1813.

In the meantime, however, the war with Great Britain came on, and veterans of the Revolution were in demand. In 1812 President Madison offered to appoint Gen. Porter to a command as a brigadier general in the regular army, which was declined, as was also the request to enter the President's Cabinet as Secretary of War. Both of these honors were declined because of

Gen. Porter's advancing years, though he continued to remain the Surveyor General of Pennsylvania and a trusted adviser in the Cabinet of his firm friend, Gov. Snyder, for the rest of his days.

He died November 16, 1813, and was buried at Harrisburg.

Gen. Porter in his lifetime acquired large possessions of land. The greater part of it lay in the western part of the State, in the counties of Armstrong, Butler, Lycoming, and Westmoreland. In the valleys of the Whitestone River in Ohio and the Alleghany River in Pennsylvania some portions of it were in the fertile bottoms of the Tobyhanna, Plum, and Chartiers Creeks, and in the vicinity of a line along which Gen. Washington had hoped to see a system of internal improvements perfected, in establishing a route from Pittsburg to the sea via the Susquehanna, the Tobyhanna, and the Schuylkill Valleys.²⁴

Much of this land had been allotted to Gen. Porter for military services, and no doubt other desirable acquisitions had been made from his own intimate knowledge of the country and his forecast of the future. Besides these tracts, he had improved properties in Berks, Montgomery, and Philadelphia Counties, all of which passed to his descendants by inheritance.

The family of Gen. Porter is a notable one, and the sons were no less distinguished than the father. There were thirteen children, the issue of two marriages.

1. Robert, the eldest son, born January 10, 1768, served as a cadet in the Pennsylvania Artillery from January 9, 1779; was commissioned first lieutenant July 2, 1781; and was granted four hundred acres donation lands for his military services as second lieutenant in 1786. He accompanied his father as commissary in the Western Boundary Commission, and on his return took up the study of law. He was admitted to the bar May 15, 1789, and practiced in Philadelphia. Gov. Snyder appointed him President Judge of the Berks, Lehigh, Northampton District, in which he served many years, finally resigning his commission and retiring to private life. He died at Brookville, Pa., January 23, 1842.²⁵

2. Elizabeth Rittenhouse, born September 27, 1769, and died

²⁴ Maryland Hist. Put., Vol. 1877-1879, p. 101.

²⁵ Egel's Hist. Dauphin and Lebanon Co., p. 525.

in 1851. She was married in 1790 to Robert Parker, first cousin of her father's second wife. The bridal tour was made from Pennsylvania to Kentucky on horseback. They settled at Lexington. Their daughter, Eliza Ann Parker, married her kinsman, Robert Smith Todd, and they were the parents of Mary Todd, who became the wife of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth President of the United States, and whose son, Hon. Robert Todd Lincoln, was Secretary of War in Gen. Harrison's Cabinet, and afterwards Foreign Minister to Great Britain.²⁶

3. Mary, born March 12, 1771, married her cousin, Robert E. Porter, son of Charles Porter. He also settled in Kentucky. She was the mother of four children: Eliza, Andrew, Benjamin, and Caroline.

4 and 5. Andrew and William were twins, born April 8, 1773. The mother died soon after their birth. Andrew settled in New Orleans, where he became a successful merchant, and died there October 11, 1805. William went to Baltimore. He also was a merchant. He died at Baltimore November 16, 1835.

6. Charlotte, eldest child by Gen. Porter's second wife, was born February 1, 1778. She married Robert Brooke, of Philadelphia. They were the parents of five sons and three daughters. Two of the sons, Robert W., of Easton, and Charles Wallace, of Philadelphia, were distinguished as lawyers, and Charles H. as a merchant.²⁷

7. Anna Maria, born and died in 1781.

8. Alexandria Parker, born and died in 1782.

9. John Ewing, born May 11, 1784; studied law in his brother Robert's office, and practiced in Chester and Montgomery Counties in 1805; removed to North Carolina, where he studied and practiced medicine later; and died unmarried at Plymouth, November 14, 1819.

10. Harriet, born October 10, 1786, was her mother's faithful and most dutiful companion. She became the second wife of Col. Thomas McKean, who was for many years President of the Easton (Pa.) Bank. There was no issue of this marriage.

11. David Rittenhouse, who was born October 31, 1788, at "Selma," Norristown, Pa., was perhaps the most distinguished of all of Gen. Porter's sons. He married Josephine McDermott.

²⁶ *Historic Families of Kentucky*, pp. 215-274.

²⁷ *Pa. Mag. of Hist.*, Vol. IV., p. 295.

David Rittenhouse began public life as a clerk to his father when the latter was surveyor general. Another clerk in the same office at the same time was Francis R. Shunk, who also became Governor of Pennsylvania. David Porter later became an iron manufacturer in Huntingdon County, Pa. Here he took an active part in politics. He became County Auditor in 1815, and Assemblyman in 1819, 1820, and 1822. 1823 he was Clerk of the Courts and Prothonotary; in 1827, Register of Wills and Deeds; and in 1826 was elected State Senator. When his second term had but half expired, he was elected, in 1839, Governor of Pennsylvania, the first Governor under the new constitution. He was reelected in 1841 by a majority four times as great as that given him in 1838.²⁸

Gov. Porter died August 6, 1867. He had several children, among them: Horace Porter (born April 15, 1837, and married December 23, 1862, to Sophie K. McHarg, of Albany, N. Y.), who is a graduate of West Point (1860), served in the field in the civil war in every commissioned grade to brigadier general, was private secretary to President Grant in 1869-77, and since 1897 has been United States Ambassador to France;²⁹ William Augustus, born May 24, 1821, Associate Justice of the Superior Court of Pennsylvania, who was the father of Hon. W. W. Porter, of Philadelphia, also a Justice of the Superior Court; Elizabeth, who married a Mr. Wheeler; and George W., physician and ex-postmaster of Harrisburg, Pa., who married, December 28, 1854, Mary Emily Reilly, daughter of Capt. John Reilly, of the Pennsylvania Line. Their children are: Rebecca, George W., Jr., Caroline (wife of W. B. Hammond), Emma Wegener, and Elizabeth.³⁰

12. George Bryan, born February 9, 1791, settled in Lancaster, Pa.; was a graduate of Litchfield (Conn.) Law School; was a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1827; and appointed by Gov. Schultz Adjutant General of Pennsylvania in 1824. He was a great friend and admirer of Gen. Andrew Jackson, and was active in his candidacy in the State. Gen. G. B. Porter was particularly energetic in pushing the Pennsylvania

²⁸ Lylles's Hist. of Huntingdon Co., Pa., pp. 203, 204.

²⁹ Who's Who in America? 1901-2, p. 902.

³⁰ Dr. Egle's Scotch-Irish Genealogies, p. 506.

railroad to completion. In 1832 President Jackson appointed him Governor of Michigan Territory, which office he filled with credit and ability for the two years prior to his death, at Detroit, July 18, 1834. He also left a line of prominent descendants, among whom were Gilbert M. de Lafayette Porter, who, with another child of George B. Porter, was baptized by Rev. Ashmead at Gen. Porter's residence in Lancaster, Pa., in the presence of Gen. Lafayette, who held the infant in his arms during the ceremony, July 26, 1825.³¹

Andrew, another son, was an officer in the Mexican war; was brevetted lieutenant colonel for meritorious services. In the civil war he held a brigadier general's commission under McClellan in the Peninsula campaign, and was especially distinguished as provost marshal general of the Army of the Potomac. Gen. Andrew Porter's wife was Miss Biddle, daughter of Maj. John Biddle, of the United States army. Their son, John Biddle Porter, who commanded the Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, during the Spanish-American war, later in service in the Phillippines, was recently (April, 1901) appointed Judge Advocate in the army, ranking as major in the regulars, with the prospect of soon reaching the grade of a brigadier.

13. James Madison was the thirteenth and youngest child of Gen. Andrew Porter's large and remarkable family, and brings to a close the chronicles of its distinguished members. He was born at "Selma," Norristown, Pa., January 6, 1793. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1818, and settled down to practice his profession at Easton, Pa. Here he met with great success, and is said to have been "one of the ablest advocates the States ever produced."

As a member of the Reform Convention of 1838, which framed the new constitution, and under which his brother David was elected the first Governor, James was a candidate for its presidency. He was defeated, however, by Hon. John Sargeant by a majority of one vote. Early in his career he became President Judge of the district composed of the counties of Dauphin, Lebanon, and Schuylkill. As Secretary of War under President John Tyler he was "inferior to no man, save Mr. Webster." Later on James M. Porter was elected Judge of the Northern District of Pennsylvania, from which he resigned on account of

³¹ Lancaster Intelligencer, July, 1825.

ill health. His death occurred at Easton, Pa., on December 11, 1862.³²

While Gen. Lafayette was visiting the United States in 1824 he met, at Easton, in August of that year, Judge Porter, and asked him if he was related to a Capt. Porter whom he had met at Brandywine. On being told that Judge Porter was a son, Lafayette said to him that Capt. Porter and Lieut. Parker (uncle of Judge Porter) were good soldiers, and were very kind to him when wounded; and, in taking leave of Judge Porter, the General added: "I wish you well for their sakes."³³

In December of 1824 Judge Porter issued a call which resulted in the founding of a new college at Easton. It was named Lafayette, and was chartered March 9, 1826. The corner stone was laid by Hon. J. M. Porter, President of the Board of Trustees, July 4, 1833.³⁴

One of the sons of Hon. James M. Porter was Gen. Andrew Parker Porter, who was educated at West Point, became lieutenant of cavalry, and served in the Indian hostilities in the West. He was afterwards commissioned a captain in the commissary department. During the rebellion he was assistant commissary general of the Army of the Potomac under McClellan, and finally became commissary general of the army. He died soon after the war, but left an excellent record of service.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the posterity of Robert Porter, the Ulster pioneer of Montgomery County, left their impress upon the country, not only in the laws they helped to frame and to interpret with fidelity and dignity, or to defend with honor at home and abroad, but they filled almost every sphere of public service within the range of possibility, not excepting the presidency, which was really shared in—except, perhaps, in executive functions only—by one of his lineage, Mary Todd, the wife of President Lincoln.

³²Egle's Hist. Dauphin and Lebanon Counties, pp. 525 *et seq.*

³³Pa. Mag. of History, Vol. IV., p. 291.

³⁴Day's Hist. Coll. of Pa., p. 511.

A LEGEND OF ROCKY SPRING.

APROPOS of the meeting of the Scotch-Irish Congress at the old Rocky Spring Church, the following lines are submitted. They were written on the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of the erection of the present church building at Rocky Spring. They are founded upon an anecdote of Rev. Craighead, which is related by Nevin in his "Churches of the Valley," at page 185. They have no place in any particular record of that celebration:

PARSON CRAIGHEAD'S INSPIRATION.

A LEGEND OF ROCKY SPRING CHURCH.

One hundred years and twenty
Have nearly passed away
Since the time when Parson Craighead,
On a sunlit Sabbath day,
Ascended the ancient pulpit
In the church at Rocky Spring;
And after prayer was offered
And he'd bade the people sing,
He stood with hand uplifted,
While a solemn silence fell,
And all the congregation
Seemed bound by holy spell.

For a space no sound was noted,
Save the whisper of the breeze,
As it hastened through the forest,
Holding converse with the trees;
Or, mayhap, the distant droning
Of the streamlet in its bed,
Kissed by the waters, arching
From the rocky fountain head.

"My beloved," quoth the parson—
His voice was low but clear,
And the fire in his eye was kindled—
"The crisis now is here;
It ill becomes me, truly,
To counsel aught but peace;
But the wicked who beset us
From troubling never cease.
Too long we've borne the scourging
Of the oppressor's heavy rod;
Now let it be resisted—
'Tis obedience unto God."

With these and words more fervent
 He besought them, one and all,
 To stand no longer doubting,
 But to heed their country's call.
 Then one and all, him hearing,
 As a single man uprose,
 And in silence, no man speaking,
 Around the parson close.

For never a bidding waiting,
 'Tis so the records run,
 Spake then "auld Pattie Nelson,"
 Who had lost her only son.
 He had marched away with Hendricks,
 And on New England soil
 He fell, and left auld Pattie
 To a life of lonely toil.

"Gude Master Craighead, haud!" quoth she,
 Think on me pritty boy,
 For ganging had ye sic an one,
 Ye'd not show mickle joy.
 Yersel had better gang ava
 The gate, fu' weel ye ken, to preach,
 Troth gang yersel, and ganging
 'Twill ithers better teach."

"Plain words are these, auld Pattie;
 Think not that I am fashed;
 I'll take them home for profit,"
 Said the parson, much abashed;
 And, leaping from the pulpit,
 He passed out through the door,
 Shouting "Come!" to all who'd heard him
 Counsel "Go!" but just before.
 And they came from all that region
 To follow in his lead;
 And he led them, God him helping,
 To many a glorious deed.
 I know their deeds were grander
 Than my halting Muse can sing;
 The British knew and feared them too,
 The men from Rocky Spring.
 And in all the patriot army,
 If the tale be fitly told,
 There was ne'er a braver leader
 Than the "parson-captain bold."

Harrisburg, Pa., Aug. 21, 1894.

THE COLONIAL DEFENSES OF FRANKLIN COUNTY: THEIR DATES AND LOCATION, THE CAUSES OF THEIR LOCATION AND THEIR ERECTION.

BY WILLIAM STENGER HORNER, CHAMBERSBURG, PA.

It is certainly not my intention to write a history of the colonial defenses of Franklin County, nor of the stirring incidents of the settlement of the country round about them and the sufferings borne by the defenders, as well as by the fearless pioneers protected by them. Giving first a brief statement of what and where they were, it is my purpose to show, if possible, why they were, where they were, and give a view, but little discussed heretofore, of why they ever existed at all.

To the early settler his house, or cabin rather, was his castle as fully and conclusively as English law ever held it to be, though in a different sense. Built of logs, well-chinked, no windows, at least in the lower floor, with a door of riven slabs, it was capable of withstanding practically all weapons brought against it, except that of fire, and to secure safety from the latter it was generally built in the midst of a clearing so that there might be no cover near to guard the skulking enemy in his near approach.

When the troublous times came upon this valley, about 1754, the leading and wealthier settlers surrounded their buildings with a stockade of logs set endwise in the ground, touching each other, pinned together and sharpened at the top. Thus came the private fort, and of this variety were all the "Indian forts" in this county except one, Fort Loudon, which was a provincial or public work, inclosing not private buildings, but barracks for soldiers and public storehouses for provisions and munitions of war.

These Indian forts were, beginning at the South, Davis's, Steel's, McDowell's, Loudon, Chambers's and McCord's. In addition to these, McConnell's was garrisoned by troops in 1764, but of its location nothing is known except the map showing a garrison which must have been at or near Upper Strasburg. McAllister's at Roxbury and Elliott's and Baker's in Path Valley were likewise so garrisoned. William Allison's house was at

Greencastle, William Maxwell's in Peter's township, Joseph Culbertson's at Culbertson's Row, and David David's in the Little Cove, all of which have left local tradition of forts at those locations, but are not otherwise known as such.

Of the actual construction of Fort Loudon we have no account except that it contained barracks and storehouses, and was surrounded by a stockade, but as it was built only a few months before Fort Halifax on the Susquehanna, and as the orders for the construction of both came from Gov. Morris, it is probable that the following direction given for Halifax will also fit Loudon: "Herewith you will also receive two plans of forts, the one a pentagon, the other a square with one ravelin to protect the curtain where the gate is, with a ditch-covered way and glacis, and the plans herewith will serve to show the proportion that the different parts of the works should bear to each other. When you have completed the fort you will cause the ground to be cleared about it to a convenient distance, and openings to be made to the river. Without the fort at a convenient distance, under the command of the guns, it will be necessary to build some log houses for the Indians, that they may have places to lodge in without being in the fort, where numbers of them should not be admitted."

Col. Clapham, to whom these orders were issued, left the fort for Carlisle and ordered Capt. Miles: "You are to build barracks within the fort for your men and also a storehouse thirty feet by twelve, in which you are to carefully lodge all provisions, stores, etc."¹ Probably as pertinent a description is that of Fort Lowther at Carlisle: "Around the area to be inclosed within the fort a ditch was dug to the depth of four feet. In this oak logs, or logs of some kind of timber not easily set on fire or cut through and about seventeen or eighteen feet long, pointed at the top, were placed in an upright position. Two sides of the logs were hewn flat and the sides were brought close together and fastened securely near the top by horizontal pieces of timber, spiked or pinned upon their inner sides, so as to make the whole stockade firm and stanch. The ditch having been filled up again, platforms were constructed all around the inner side of the inclosure some four or five feet from the ground, and upon these

¹ Rupp's History of Dauphin and Franklin Counties at 310 and 315.

the defenders of the fort stood and fired through loopholes near the top of the stockade."²

Fort Davis was the residence of Philip Davis, who settled, near where Welsh Run now is, in 1737. In all the plans for the defense of the province hereafter referred to it is mentioned as the outpost next to the Maryland line. Some of these references are as early as 1753, and it was still used as a post for provincial troops as late as 1764 or 1765. It does not seem as though it has been the object of attack at any time. It is alleged to have been situated on a farm now owned by Royer's heirs, two miles southwest of Welsh Run, a location sadly lacking in definiteness.

Fort Steel was a stockade surrounding the meetinghouse of the Upper West Conococheague congregation of the Presbyterian Church. It was probably the earliest stockade in the Conococheague settlement, for it was the meeting place of the fugitives from the Indians on the occasion of their first massacre in the Big and Little Coves in the fall of 1755.³ Rev. John Steel was the pastor of the Church commencing in 1754, and practically ceasing three years later. He was a militant shepherd, commissioned a captain in the colonial forces.⁴ He is said on one occasion to have interrupted divine service and led his flock against the Indian perpetrators of a brutal murder. This stockade was at Church Hill, long known as the Presbyterian White Church, and both because of the dispersion of the congregation and for reasons of policy hereafter mentioned ceased to be of importance after 1755.

William McDowell settled on the banks of the west branch of the Conococheague Creek about the same time as Benjamin Chambers settled at the Falling Spring, or possibly a year or two later, certainly not later than 1735. He soon built a mill about fifty yards northeast from where the present mill of Mr. H. Hoffditz, at Bridgeport, now stands, and a blockhouse just to the east of it. It was on the pack trail to the west, the last station before striking the mountains, hence its importance, but it was unfortified at least till the fall of 1775, for Gov. Morris writes from Carlisle to Gen. Braddock, July 3, 1755: "They will remain till I go up into the country, which will be on Tuesday next, and

² Indian Forts Rep., Vol. I., 509.

³ Letters of Benjamin Chambers and Adam Hoops, Rupp, 72.

⁴ Letter of John Steel, April 11, 1756, Rupp, 105.

then I shall form the magazine at or near McDowell's Mill, and put some stockadoes around it to protect the magazines and the people that will have the care of it."⁵ Within a week after the Governor wrote this Braddock had been defeated and slain, and within another week the Governor knew the sad news, and all the province was in a turmoil, so that it is unlikely that he fulfilled his purpose. The road to the west for the purpose of forwarding supplies to Braddock was in course of construction in June, 1755,⁶ but it did not pass close to McDowell's, leaving the latter to the south. For this reason and because of the building of Fort Loudon in the winter of 1756, McDowell's fort passes out of colonial history.

The assembly of the province was called to meet on November 3, 1755, and, in view of the imminent danger, authorized the creation of three battalions, of a total of fourteen hundred men, one of which of seven hundred men was stationed west of the Susquehanna and commanded by Col. John Armstrong, of Carlisle. From that time on until the coming of Col. Stanwix in 1757 and Gen. Forbes and Bouquet, Armstrong was by far the most important man in the valley. By reason of his representation to the Governor under date of August 20, 1756, that "Lyttleton, Shippensburg, and Carlisle (the two last not finished) are the only forts now built that will, in my opinion, be serviceable to the public; McDowell's or thereabouts is a necessary post, but the present fort not defensible,"⁷ as well as the numerous petitions other settlers for protection,⁸ the provincial government ordered the erection of Fort Loudon. Col. Armstrong took charge of the work, and on November 19, 1756, wrote Gov. Denny: "I'm making the best preparations in my power to forward this fort, as well as to prepare barracks, etc. Friday we begin to dig a cellar in the new fort, the logs and roof of a house having there been erected by Patton before the Indians burned his old one. We shall appraise the house, and take the benefit of it, either for officers' barracks or a storehouse, by which means the provisions may the sooner be moved from this place (McDowell), which at present divides our strength." December 22, A. Steevens

⁵ Indian Forts, Vol. I., 547.

⁶ Letters of Edw. Shippin, Rupp, 74.

⁷ Letter of John Armstrong, Rupp, 117.

⁸ Rupp, 68, 77, and 119.

says: "The public stores are safely moved from McDowell's mill to Fort Loudon, the barracks for the soldiers are built, and some proficiency made in the stockade, the finishing of which will doubtless be retarded by the inclemency of the weather."⁹ This was by far the strongest and most important post in the county, and remained garrisoned by regular or provincial troops at least until 1765, but probably fell into disuse and ruin soon after, as it was certainly gone by the time of the Revolution. Like McDowell's mill, it was located on the east bank of the West Conococheague Creek halfway between that point and Loudon. Possibly because of its strength it was never molested by the Indians, its chief trouble being serious illness among the soldiers in the summer of 1757, due to want of suitable rations."¹⁰

Quite different was the history of McCord's fort, ending suddenly as it did about the 4th of April, 1756, when the Indians surprised and burned it, taking captive or killing outright twenty-seven persons. This was the most extensive raid made by the Indians in this county, unless the one of the fall before against the Big and Little Coves was larger, and the whole occurrence seems to rest on the account of one Robinson of the Juniata Valley, who does not even pretend to have been present. Rupp, page 104, gives the number killed, but no authority for his statement. The pursuit of the Indians is authenticated, however, by a letter from Capt. Hance Hamilton, at that time sheriff of York County, to John Potter, Sheriff of Cumberland County, written from Fort Lyttleton, April 4, 1756, as follows: "These come to inform you of the melancholy news of what occurred between the Indians that have taken many captives from McCord's fort, and a party of men under the command of Capt. Alexander Culbertson and nineteen of our men, the whole amounting to about fifty with the captives, and had a sore engagement, many of both parties killed and wounded, the number unknown; those wounded want a surgeon, and those killed require your assistance as soon as possible to bury them." Capt. Culbertson and Dr. Jamison, an ensign in Capt. Chambers's Company, were killed in this fight. As stated, this fort was burned, and it was never rebuilt, so that its location is now more than doubtful. From the narrative of Richard Bard, captured by the Indians in 1758 in Peters

⁹ Letters quoted in History of Franklin County, 165.

¹⁰ Letter of Armstrong, Rupp, 135.

township, who was taken by them past McCord's old fort; we learn that it was at a gap, after passing which they crossed the mountain and came the second day to Path Valley.¹¹ From this description it might well be that this fort was the residence of a man of that name located on what is now the farm of William Bossart, west of Keefer's post office, where the report of the Indian Forts Commission places it. I take this theory in view of the total lack of any other one.

Chambers's Fort was the residence and flouring mill of Benjamin Chambers, built first of logs in 1730 and later of stone on the island near where the woolen mill now is, the stockade, not built before 1755, inclosing the mouth of Falling Spring. It never took any part in the border disturbances, other than as a shelter for fugitives. Either because of the conciliatory character of its owner, its remoteness from the mountain passes, and consequently from the extreme frontier, it was never in danger, in fact never attacked by the savages. The only person on record as having lost his life in the neighborhood was one William McKinley, who, owning a farm at Hollowell, went thither from the fort, and was there murdered by the Indians. The armament of the fort was two four-pounders, which got the proprietor into trouble with the provincial authorities. The Governor ordered their withdrawal on the ground that in such an exposed situation they might be taken by the French and Indians, and used against Shippensburg and Carlisle. Chambers refused to surrender them, and the Governor finally desisted.

From the claims in this case set up by the provincial authorities and the location in which we find both those private and public forts which survived the first outbreak, it is probable that many of the private forts were put in a defensible condition with the aid of provincial funds. The provincial spent such large sums of money on a system of defense of which certain of these forts formed an essential part, that it is not at all likely that all was spent on strictly public works. This system or line of defense can be shown much more graphically by maps than by word description, and I have accordingly prepared such a map showing the whole system, including the part that Franklin County defenses took in it.

James Hamilton became Governor of the province in 1748,

¹¹ Indian Forts, Vol. I., 544.

and early in his term of office urged upon the Assembly the necessity of organizing for defense and establishing blockhouses along the frontier, and the proprietaries offered liberal assistance; but the Assembly, controlled by the Quakers, held back as they did for years thereafter, preferring gifts to the Indians rather than preparation for defense. For one year alone, about 1750, these gifts cost the province £8,000.¹²

The next move for a general plan of defense was made by the Assembly just after Braddock's defeat, when it voted £50,000, but as the bill taxed the lands of the proprietaries it was vetoed by the Governor and came to naught. Local interests then came to the work. Sheriff John Potter called a meeting at the house of Edward Shippen, in Shippensburg, October 30, 1755, at which were present William Allison, John Irwin, Adam Hoops, James Bard, William Smith, James McCormick, Benjamin and Robert Chambers, H. Alexander, John Findlay, John Potter, Rev. Mr. Bay, John Mushett, Samuel Reynolds, Rev. John Blair, John Smith, Alex Culbertson, and John Armstrong. They decided to build five forts at Carlisle, Shippensburg, Col. Chambers's, Mr. Steel's meetinghouse, and William Allison's.¹³ This plan came to no active good, probably for want of means to fulfill it, and because the location of the places named did not fall in the plan shortly afterwards adopted by the provincial authorities. Nor would these locations have been in accordance with good military strategy, as they would have failed to guard the mountain passes into the settlements, as the plan finally adopted was intended, and in fact did do. John Armstrong comes nearer to the mark when he writes to Gov. Morris, who had succeeded Hamilton, under date of November 2, 1755: "I am of the opinion that no other means than a chain of blockhouses along or near the south side of the Kittochtinny Mountains from Susquehanna to the temporary line can secure the lives and property even of the old inhabitants of this county; the new settlements being all fled, except those of Sherman's Valley, whom if God do not preserve, we fear will suffer soon."¹⁴

There does not seem to be any part of public affairs in which Benjamin Franklin failed to make his influence felt during most

¹² *Lives of the Governors*, 150.

¹³ *History of Franklin County*, 163.

¹⁴ *Rupp*, 92.

of his life in Pennsylvania. He now appears on the scene of Indian defenses. "At the earnest solicitation of the Governor he was induced to take the command on the northwestern frontier. Though in the dead of winter, he raised a respectable force, commenced the erection of forts which he soon made sufficiently strong, and had them completely garrisoned. He then returned to Philadelphia, and was succeeded by Col. Clapham."¹⁵ The "History of Franklin County," in quoting the above on page 91 (without credit let it be known), makes Franklin to have erected the whole line of forts from the Delaware to the Potomac. This would have been physically impossible, and in fact whatever Franklin did it was all done east of the Susquehanna. His main plan, however, of placing the forts along the southeast side of the easternmost ridge of the Blue Mountain was unquestionably followed in this valley, thus guarding all the main avenues of approach from the west, at the very outskirts of the main settlements.

Several suggestions for the disposal of troops in these defenses are extant. One provides: "Let one company cover from Philip Davies's to Thomas Waddell's. And as John McDowell's mill is at the most important pass, most exposed to danger, has a fort already made about it, and there provisions may be most easily had, for these reasons let it be the chief quarters. Let five men be constantly at Philip Davies's, William Marshall's, and Thomas Waddell's, who shall be relieved every day by the patrolling guards. Let ten men be sent every morning from the chief quarters to Thomas Waddell's, and ten return from thence in the evening. Likewise ten men sent from the chief quarters to the other extremity daily, to go by William Marshall's to Philip Davies's and return the same way in the afternoon. By this plan the whole bounds will be patrolled twice every day, a watch will be constantly kept at four most important places, and there will be every night forty-five men at the chief quarters ready for any exigency."¹⁶

Another company was in like manner to cover the territory between McDowell's and Shippensburg. This plan seems to have been largely adopted, for the map of 1764 shows a location of troops not unlike the one here recommended. This paper,

¹⁵ *Lives of the Governors*, 159.

¹⁶ Rupp, 78.

though not dated, must have been prepared prior to the winter of 1756, for it fails to mention Fort Loudon. Thomas Waddell was at Waddell's graveyard, near Mercersburg Junction, on the South Pennsylvania railroad.

Another plan covering the disposal of all the troops of the province is given in full by Rupp, page 561. It is the work of Col. James Burd, of Shippensburg, and is dated 1757. It urges offensive action against the Indians and the concentration of the forces—four hundred men under Armstrong at Fort Lyttleton; five hundred under Col. Clapham at Fort Augusta, now Sunbury; and four hundred under Conrad Weiser at Easton—and condemns the practice then existing of guarding a great number of places with small detachments. This view seems never to have prevailed with the authorities.

Had there been no Indian hostilities such as began on the frontier of Pennsylvania in 1753, there would never have been need for any of the defenses mentioned above, nor would any such ever have been erected, yet I find with some surprise that no recent discussion has been made of the causes and local circumstances which actuated that outbreak. It has been my good fortune to light upon an expressed view contemporary with the occurrences themselves.

It may as well be recognized in the beginning that this valley was never in serious danger of invasion by any foreign foe other than the Indians. There is but one reference to Frenchmen ever having entered the valley with hostile intent, that being on the occasion of the raid of King Shingas and his Delawares upon the Big and Little Coves in the fall of 1755, when two Frenchmen are mentioned as having accompanied the expedition.¹⁷ The only occasion on which an expedition commanded by French and composed of them in any large degree approached this valley was on the taking of Fort Granville at Lewiston in 1756.¹⁸ It is true that war had broken out between England and Spain in 1740, and between England and France in 1744, both of which were engaged in by Pennsylvania to the extent of the issuance of proclamations directed against these nations by the Governor;¹⁹ but no further hostile actions were entered upon. This prac-

¹⁷ Letter of Benjamin Chambers, Rupp, 90.

¹⁸ Letter of John Armstrong, Rupp, 116.

¹⁹ Pennsylvania Archives, 2 Ser., VIII., 414 and 540.

tically reduces the list of active aggressors to the Indians alone, and the causes of their hostility should be found largely in circumstances and conditions bearing upon them alone. Nor can their animosity be attributed wholly to their savage natures, nor to the machinations and persuasion of the French, nor to the defeats of the English under Washington at Fort Necessity and Braddock the year after.

The whole history of the province from 1682 down to the present time does not disclose an instance of a white man killed by an Indian east and south of the Susquehanna, and but one within the bounds of the State before 1750. John Armstrong, an Indian trader, and his two men, Smith and Arnold, were killed at Juniata Crossings in April, 1744, by three Indians, who immediately on demand were delivered up by their chiefs and conveyed to Philadelphia for trial. At a conference on the subject held at Shamokin in May, 1744, Allumoppies, the Delaware chief, said to Conrad Weiser, acting for the Governor: "Brother, the Governor, it is true that we, the Delaware Indians, by the instigation of the evil spirit, have murdered J. Armstrong and his men. We have transgressed, and we are ashamed to look up. We have taken the murderer and delivered him to the relations of the deceased, to be dealt with according to his works."²⁰ The prominence given this occurrence by the Governor and Council proves the rarity of such acts. As a contrast to this picture, though occurring in December, 1763, and after the whites had become exasperated by countless acts of cruelty on the part of the Indians, was the murder of some twenty Conestoga Indians, part at their town near Lancaster, most in the workhouse in Lancaster, whither they had been taken for safety, the town then being garrisoned by a regiment of Highlanders, regular British troops. The "Paxton Boys" were the murderers. [On this point consult Dr. Egle's paper in the Harrisburg volume of Scotch-Irish proceedings.—EDITORS.] Those killed ranged from two to eighty years, male and female, and were all unarmed and begging for their lives in English, their adopted language. It scarcely adds to the ferocity of the deed that the victims were also scalped.

The social relations of the two races were uniformly satisfactory during all the early history of the province, and must have been most friendly "when the young Indian and white lad cheer-

²⁰ Rupp, 62.

ily tried their skill as wrestlers and archers, each striving to gain the mastery, without any grudge toward each other." The settlement of our valley may be dated from the founding of Harris's Ferry in 1719, and for thirty-four years there is not one account of a collision between the two peoples within its borders, though during that time the one race dispossessed the other. Thus Armstrong, as quoted above, says that there was not a defensible fort in the valley as late as the winter of 1755. John Harris says, October 29, 1755: "I have this day cut loopholes in my house, and am determined to hold out to the last extremity."²² From an ill-considered remark of an early historian this state of peace and tranquillity has been attributed to there being no permanent Indian occupants of this valley at that time. This I doubt. Harris's Ferry connected with a large Indian town on this side the river, where Bridgeport now stands. James Magraw writes from Shippensburg, May 21, 1733: "Dear John, I wish you would see John Harris at the Ferry, and get him to write to the Governor to see if he can't get some guns for us. There's a good when of Indians about there, and I fancy they intend to give us a good deal of trouble, and may do us a great deal of harm."²³ The tone of this letter is significant. John O'Neal, an agent of the Governor, visited Carlisle, and wrote thence May 27, 1753: "I . . . embraced an opportunity, which presented itself, of learning the Indian character by some of the Delawares, Shawnees, and Tuscaroras who continue in this vicinity, the greater number having gone to the West."²⁴

The most of the hostile acts committed between 1750 and 1765 were the work of the Lenni-Lenape confederacy, consisting of the Delawares, Shawnees, Susquehannas, and smaller tribes, the Six Nations remaining, as a whole, friendly to the English. Had the attitude of the first named been due to French persuasion, the Six Nations would also have gone the same way, being by reason of their location much more subject to French influence emanating from Niagara and French headquarters at Montreal than the Delawares were. Moreover, the English were always better givers than the French, and the province of Pennsylvania

²¹ Rupp, 163.

²² Rupp, 254.

²³ Quoted in History of Franklin Co., 149.

²⁴ Rupp, 390.

was best of all the colonies. Its stream of presents to the Indians was continuous and enormous in amount, reaching \$40,000 in a single year, yet despite this the Indians became hostile. Nor, while having an emboldening effect, were the reverses of the English in 1754 and 1755 the cause of the Indian attacks upon them. These began before the reverses occurred.

Other causes than these must be looked for in explanation of the phenomena, and can be found most clearly in the stupid and fraudulent management of its land affairs by the provincial government in dealing with the Indians, and to a still greater degree the attitude and actions of the individual settlers from 1725 till 1750 toward the rights both of the Indians and the provincial government.

The purchases of land from the Indians prior to the French and Indian war, and consequently the only ones which could have affected that war, were as follows: First, several of small, well-defined tracts in the immediate neighborhood of Philadelphia made between 1682 and 1696, under Penn's personal supervision or advice. The extent of one of these was "as much ground as a man could walk in three days."

It is probably only tradition that Penn himself walked out half of it with the Indians, making less than thirty miles in the day and a half, but it is a fair indication of the change which came over the temper of the authorities after his departure, that in 1733 the Governor offered five hundred acres of land and twenty-five dollars to the man who could walk the farthest in the remaining day and a half. The winner made eighty-six miles. The second purchase, and the beginning of a new class, was the conveyance from Gov. Dongan, of New York, to Penn, of "All that tract of land lying on both sides of the river Susquehanna and the lakes adjacent thereto, in or near the Province of Pennsylvania, in consideration of one hundred pounds sterling. Beginning at the mountains or head of the said river and running as far and into the Bay of Chesapeake, which the said Thomas lately purchased or had given him by the Susquehanna Indians."²⁵

This deed introduced the two fatal objections of general words in the grant and grossly insufficient consideration, both of which are incompatible with the final settlement of disputes. But the

²⁵ Smith's Laws, II., 112.

Susquehanna and Conestoga Indians had also to be appeased, denying the right of the Five Nations to sell, as they had done to Dongan, so the former in 1700 and the latter in 1701 confirmed the grant to Dongan and conveyed to W. Penn "all the said river Susquehanna, and all the islands therein, and all the lands situate, lying and being upon both sides of the said river, and next adjoining the same, to the uttermost confines of the lands which are or formerly were the right of the people or nation called the Susquehanna Indians, . . . and do confirm the bargain and sale of the said lands made unto Col. Thomas Dongan, now Earl of Limerick, and formerly Governor of New York, whose deed of sale to Gov. Penn we have seen."²⁶

These four conveyances being in such general terms and upon such inadequate consideration, constituted active fraud upon the red man by the white, and the Indians were certainly justified in giving them as narrow a construction as the words would permit of. They were the more justified in this that the terms of the conveyances were not in any sense adhered to by the individual settlers. However, at a conference held with representatives of the Six Nations at Philadelphia an effort was made to settle the differences by a fifth conveyance, dated October 11, 1736, granting to John Thomas and Richard Penn "all the said river Susquehanna, with the lands lying on both sides thereof to extend eastward as far as the heads of the branches or springs which run into the said Susquehanna, and all the lands lying on the west side of the said river to the setting of the sun, and to extend from the mouth of the said river northward, up the same to the hills, or mountains called in the language of the said natives Tayamentasachta, and by the Delaware Indians the Kechachtannin hills."²⁷

This purchase included Franklin County, except Warren, Metal, and Fannett, and seems to have been observed by both the contracting parties except as to the general term, "to the setting of the sun," the full effect of which the Indians seem always to have denied. By the sixth purchase, in 1749, the land between the northern line of the purchase of 1736, on the south, the Susquehanna on the west, the Delaware on the east, and a straight line connecting the two rivers from the Maghoniroy to the Lackawachsien Creeks was conveyed for the consideration of

²⁶ Ibid. ²⁷ Ibid.

£500. While I have numbered these purchases as above, there were in fact numerous minor treaties, the mention of which here would only encumber the narrative.

The conveyance, however, which gave the most trouble was the seventh one, made at Albany, N. Y., July 6, 1754, between the representatives of the Six Nations and Isaac Norris, Richard Peters, and Conrad Weiser, the agents of Pennsylvania.

The English and French were at the moment warring for the possession of the Ohio Valley, yet at this critical juncture the provincial authorities were guilty of the stupidity of purchasing from the Six Nations, whose ownership was but a quasi one at best, for the sum of £400, "all the lands lying within the said Province of Pennsylvania, bounded and limited as follows—namely, beginning at the Kittochtinny or Blue Hills, on the west branch of the Susquehanna River, and thence by the said river, a mile above the mouth of a certain creek called Kayaron-denagh, thence northwest by west as far as the Province of Pennsylvania extends to its western lines or boundaries, thence along the said western line to the south line or boundary to the south side of the said Kittochtinny hills, thence by the south side of said hills to a place of beginning."²⁸

The effect of such a purchase upon the Delawares and Shawnees, the resident Indians, was immediate. It threw them straight into the waiting arms of the French, but further comment on this action I will leave to the cotemporary pen of Sir William Johnson, of New York, for many years the agent in America for the English government in the conduct of all its Indian affairs and the best-versed and most influential man of his or any other time in the management of such transactions. Johnson, in pursuance of his duty, wrote a letter to the lords of trade in London, of which the following is a paragraph: "I think I have before now hinted to your lordships my opinion that the hostilities which Pennsylvania in particular had suffered from some of the Indians living on the Susquehanna did in some measure arise from the large purchase made by that government two years ago at Albany. I have more reason every day, for talking with the Indians, to be confirmed in this suspicion. I am inclined to believe that the purchase was publicly consented to at Albany. Some of the Six Nations are disgusted at it, and others

²⁸ Ibid.

repent their consenting to it, and that part of them do underhand connive at the disturbances between the Susquehanna Indians and the Province of Pennsylvania, whose raising forces and building forts on the Susquehanna, though it hath very plausible pretenses, are at the bottom bad policy, and really intended to secure lands which would be more for the true interest of the community to give up at least for the present. I conceive the most effectual method of producing tranquillity to that province would be a voluntary and open surrender of that deed of sale, fix with the Indians in the best manner they can the bounds for their settlements, and make them guarantees to it."

This letter was written in 1756, and at once met with indignant denial and remonstrance from the proprietors of Pennsylvania, to which denial Sir William Johnson made a reply by a formal memorandum dated September 10, 1757,²⁹ in which it can fairly be said that he proves each and every one of his assertions.

Other authority of a minor kind there is to the same effect. George Croghan, of Aughwick, deputy of Sir William Johnson, and at the same time Indian Agent for the Province of Pennsylvania, in reporting the proceedings of the Indian conference at Easton in July, 1757, embodies in his report, after certain strictures upon the conduct of the Quakers in their dealing with the Indians, the observation that "This conduct of theirs has in a great measure destroyed his majesty's Indian interest to the westward. It is very well known that during the late war all the Western nations of Indians were steady in the British interest, and carried on a considerable trade with his majesty's subjects, no less advantageous to them than to us; but in the beginning of the troubles in America, before the present war was declared, when these Indians called upon the government of Pennsylvania particularly to protect their trade and prevent the French from settling and building forts on the Ohio, they were deaf to all entreaties. Their chief views then seemed only to be making extensive purchases of land and settling the Indian country, which conduct drove the Indians into the arms of the enemy."³⁰

James Logan was for forty years the leading citizen of Pennsylvania. An Irishman by birth, he was a man of culture and literary attainments. On the 16th of November, 1729, he writes to the proprietaries, discussing the purchases of 1696, 1700, and

²⁹ Pennsylvania Archives, 2d Ser., VI., 573. ³⁰ Ibid., 572.

1701, concluding that they were of little validity. "'Tis certain that the Five Nations claim all those lands at this day, of which we had a proof last summer, but they say William Penn was their brother and a good man, and his children will do them justice."³¹

In another letter, dated July 30, 1740, he notices the dissatisfaction existing thus early among the Indians over the treaty of 1736, due to the vagueness of the grant.³²

It must be admitted that these mistakes of the provincial authorities were not intentionally fraudulent or unjust. There are numerous instances of a full resolve to be fair with the Indians. In 1722 an Indian was murdered by a white man, and the Governor at once effected the latter's arrest, and would have followed it up with his execution had not the chief of the Six Nations, to which the murdered man belonged, at a council on the subject held at Albany, besought the Governor not to kill the murderer. In 1760 a proclamation issued offering a reward of £100 for the capture of the murderer of an Indian man and boy found dead within a few miles of the town of Carlisle.³³ Proclamation was also made against furnishing liquor to Indians,³⁴ and even their complaints as to illegally settled land were sometimes listened to. The sale of 1736 ran northward only to the south side of what we know as the North or Kittinny Mountains; so after numerous complaints, beginning about 1742, that settlements had been made beyond the bounds of the purchase of 1736, Richard Peters, Secretary, and Conrad Weiser, Interpreter, for the province in May, 1750, proceeded to the west of the mountains, and evicted seventy families, burning their cabins and requiring them to move east of the mountains. The meeting affecting this county was at Shippensburg on May 28, and there met with the above Samuel Smith, William Maxwell, George Croghan, Benjamin Chambers, Robert Chambers, William Allison, William Trent, John Finley, John Miller, Hermanus Alricks, and James Galbraith, justices of the county of Cumberland. On the 30th the whole party proceeded to Path Valley, and evicted eighteen families, some of whom must have afterwards returned, for they included such names as Blair, Alexander, McCartney, and Doyle.³⁵

³¹ Pennsylvania Archives, 2d Ser., VII., 137.

³² Ibid., 237.

³³ Ibid., 3d Ser., IX., 264.

³⁴ Ibid., VIII., 641.

³⁵ Rupp, 382.

What Sir William Johnson could not in the nature of things have known, but which is very clear now, is the extent of the constant and ever-increasing pressure brought to bear by the settlers themselves upon the provincial authorities, and through them upon the proprietaries, to secure the successive purchases from the Indians, whether the same were politic or not. The settlements were always a little in advance of the limits of the last purchase, and so illegal and but half under the protection of the province. The only way to secure a title to their holdings and the protection of the constituted authority lay through fresh treaties with the Indians, hence the constant straining of prior treaties and demand for new ones made upon the Indians by the provincial government, the effecting of a number of which was yet more unwise for the province than for the Indians.

A good example of this condition was the circumstances requiring the eviction of 1750 just mentioned, and still more suggestive was the settlement of Benjamin Chambers here. He settled in 1730, did not even get a Blunston license till 1734, the proprietaries did not buy from the Indians till 1736, and Chambers got no warrant till 1764. Such proceedings were grossly irregular, and had a strong tendency not only to incense the Indians, but also to force the hands of the provincial authorities at critical periods.

The complaints of the government on this point are unceasing. Logan, in the letter above quoted, complains of "the paupers who settle on your land without license," and in a letter of November 25, 1727, says: "We have many thousands of foreigners, mostly Palatines so called, already in ye country, of whom near fifteen hundred came in this last summer. Many of them of a surly people, divers Papists amongst them, ye men generally well armed. We have from the North of Ireland great numbers yearly. Eight or nine ships this last fall discharged at Newcastle. Both these sorts sit frequently down on any spot of vacant land they can find without asking questions. . . . They say that the proprietor invited people to come and settle his country; they are come for that end and must live. Both they and the Palatines pretend they would buy, but not one in twenty has anything to buy with. The Irish settle generally toward Maryland, where no lands can honestly be sold till ye dispute with

Lord Baltimore is decided."⁸⁶ Ten years later he is compelled to warn Sheriff Smith, of Lancaster County, to prevent certain persons from settling in Conestoga manor without license. Getting nearer home again, I will quote from the letter of O'Neal, above mentioned, as written from Carlisle in 1753: "The Irish emigrants have acted with inconsiderate rashness in entering upon Indian lands not purchased. It is a matter of regret that they do not conciliate and cultivate the good will of the red man. I have directed several blockhouses to be erected agreeably to your desire."⁸⁷

In summing up we may say that not through the savagery of the Indian, nor through the persuasion and treachery of the French, nor through the reverses of the English, but by reason of the stupidity of the provincial authorities in the conduct of their land transactions with the Indians, and through the insubordination to law, the land greed and selfishness of the individual settlers, were the defenses of Franklin County made necessary, untold sufferings endured, and in our valley alone hundreds of lives lost, and thousands of homes laid waste.

⁸⁶ Pennsylvania Archives, 2d Ser., VII., 103. ⁸⁷ Haz. Reg., IV., 389.

THE STONE CHURCH.

THE Stone Church of the Covenanters at Scotland has a connection with the early history of this district of Franklin County which may be of interest to those whose fathers belonged to the first organization. The societies consisted of members living at Scotland, Greencastle, and Waynesboro.

The first organization of congregational meetings after the union of 1782 was in August, 1791, at which time a commission was appointed to urge a call for Rev. Mr. Reid, who had been in from Scotland the year previous. In 1794 a supplication was sent to Ireland for the purpose of obtaining Rev. James McKinney as pastor of Concocheague congregation, which call continued to be pressed until 1797, when he accepted a call from Princeton, Galway, and Duanesburg.

Mr. McKinney's labors were blessed and strengthened the cause in the neighborhood, as the congregation had greatly increased during the time. The congregation, though more widely scattered, numbered as many as it did at any one time since, if not more in 1797, after which time they continued to petition the Presbytery of New York for supplies.

Names of those who did not join in the union: Alexander Thomson, J. Renfrew, William and John Guthrie, John Steel, Thomas and Eliezer Dawson, and Thomas Paxton.

The other call was made out until 1815 for Mr. Lusk. He continued until 1823, when Rev. S. W. Crawford accepted a call, and remained until about 1831, after which time the congregation was vacant until 1842.

After several unsuccessful attempts to obtain a stated gospel ministry, Rev. Mr. Hanney was ordained and installed over the congregation. On account of ill health, feeling himself unable to discharge the duties, he was released from the charge in the fall of 1844. The congregation then gave Mr. Joshua Kennedy a call, which was accepted in May, 1845."

Until Rev. S. W. Crawford became the pastor of Concocheague congregation the members at Scotland met for worship in John Thomson's barn, and those in Waynesboro in the barn of

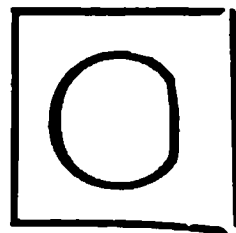
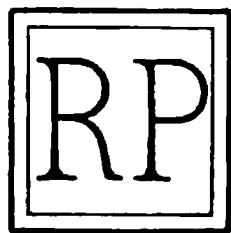
Jeremiah Burns. Mr. Crawford received contributions of money from his family in Philadelphia and New York, and with material and labor furnished by members the Stone Church was built about 1824. The grounds around the church were ample and well cared for ; but persons building encroached, and no one appeared to be sufficiently interested to prevent it.

The Reformed Presbyterians or Covenanters were, as history shows, the most pronounced and most consistent in their advocacy of what they thought the truth of all Presbyterians. They had their peculiarities indeed, and in some things their own special arrangements for the public worship of God. They made much of the Lord's Supper, and never went to it without prolonged and special preparation. The day set for it by the Session was generally announced by the pastor several weeks beforehand. The preaching during those weeks was supposed to have particular reference to the communion. Texts bearing upon it were chosen by the pastor, or by the clergymen who came to his help. The Sabbath immediately preceding it was known as preparation Sabbath ; the one following, as the thanksgiving Sabbath. A fast day was carefully kept, usually on Thursday. There was also public worship on Saturday morning. At the close of the sermon the Session met, and "tokens of admission to the Lord's table" were distributed to intending communicants. The manner of this distribution was thus. The pastor descending from the pulpit took his station in front of it, the elders standing beside him, and the members, leaving their pews, came in an orderly way, and the pastor, having the tokens in the silver baptismal bowl, gave one to each intending communicant as he passed. When all the members had returned to their pews a few words of exhortation were spoken, and the people were dismissed. Monday morning the closing public service was held, and the sermon was one of thanksgiving. In communing, the people sat at a table. It was simply made of several boards, and reached entirely across the church in front of the pulpit. It was covered with a linen cloth, and the elements were placed on a higher table at the center. At the close of the sermon the clergymen warned the unworthy against any profane approach to the holy table and encouraged all penitent believers to draw near. A psalm was then sung, usually the forty-fifth and, if necessary,

part of the one hundred and third of the Psalms of David. During the singing communicants took their seats at the table. An elder collected the tokens. After a short address by the clergyman they withdrew, the singing being renewed and continuing until another table was surrounded by guests. When all had communed the congregation was dismissed with a brief exhortation.

Because there was no mention of God in the constitution, these Reformed Presbyterians refused to support the government, neither voting nor serving on juries. They did not allow a member to listen to any clergyman but those of their own denomination, and when Mr. Crawford came to minister to them he found that a member had been deprived of Church privileges for nine years merely for stopping her horse as she rode past a camp meeting to listen to part of a sermon. She would not say she was sorry she had committed this sin. This was soon remedied, and the lapse of years has brought improvement, though the rules of the Church are still very strict.

The founders of the Conococheague Church were honest and honorable men and women, hospitable, kind-hearted, intelligent, wide-awake to the great advantages of education, and interested in the affairs of the world. Their descendants can show among them men in the professions, and successful business men and rich and prosperous farmers. But all but a very small remnant are in other denominations, leading in the Sabbath schools and taking part as good citizens in what furthers the interest of the majority. Nor must it be overlooked that in the civil war they came to their country's help and several served with distinction.



TOKENS OF THIN PIECES OF LEAD WITH RAISED LETTERS AND
RAISED CIRCLE STAMPED ON.

COPY OF CALL PRESENTED TO S. W. CRAWFORD IN 1824.

"The congregation of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Conococheague Valley being on sufficient grounds well satisfied of the ministerial qualifications of you, Rev. S. W. Crawford,

and having good hopes from our past experience of your labors that your ministrations in the gospel will be profitable to our spiritual interests, do earnestly call and desire you to undertake the pastoral office in said congregation, promising you in the discharge of your duty all proper support, encouragement, and obedience in the Lord; and that you may be free from worldly cares and avocations, we hereby promise and oblige ourselves to pay to you the sum of — annually in regular half-yearly payments during the time of your being and continuing the regular pastor of this congregation. In testimony whereof we have respectively subscribed our names this twenty-sixth day of January, A.D. 1824.

JOHN RENFREW,

JOHN THOMSON,

JOHN STEELE,

JEREMIAH BURNS,

JOHN BROWN,

SAMUEL RENFREW,

JOHN RENFREW, JR.,

ALEXANDER THOMSON,

HANNAH THOMSON,

MARY GILL,

ANN MORRISON,

ANN McCLAG,

NANCY RENFREW,

SARAH STEELE,

MARTHA McCLAY,

REBECCA STEELE,

ELIZABETH RITCHIE,

ANNA THOMSON,

NELLY ANN STEELE,

SAMUEL HAY,

WILLIAM STEVENSON,

SAMUEL THOMSON.

"I do hereby certify, as the minister who moderated this call, that it was unanimous, and conducted with the greatest harmony.
JOHN GIBSON."

THE CITY OF CHAMBERSBURG.

CHAMBERSBURG, the seat of Franklin County, is beautifully situated at the confluence of the Conococheague creek and Falling Spring, near the center of the county. It is fifty-two miles southwest of Harrisburg, and sixteen miles from the Southern border of the State. The fertile and highly improved country in the midst of which it is located, the picturesque and imposing Kittochtinny north range and the south mountain ranges by which it is bounded, the clear and romantic streams which glide noiselessly through its center, the moral and religious worth, refinement, and culture of its citizens, make it no extravagant eulogy to claim for Chambersburg a preëminence to which few rivals may hopefully aspire.

Chambersburg has been frequently alluded to as the "Queen City of the Cumberland Valley." No other city in this prettiest of all Pennsylvania's mountain-bound stretches of rich lands has so many ornate residences, such substantial business blocks, such a diversity of industries, such famous educational institutions, or such pretty surroundings.

No city north of the Mason and Dixon line has a more interesting history. Settled in 1730 by Col. Benjamin Chambers, a pioneer Scotch-Irishman whose descendants are still residents of the city, it was a frontier post in the early progress of civilization westward. It sent bodies of soldiers to help fight the Indians. Its sons were foremost in valor and in the triumphs of the revolution. It furnished many companies from its vicinity to the war of 1812. It was the headquarters of John Brown and his closest associates previous to his raid on Harper's Ferry to "free the slaves," and during the first year of the civil war was the headquarters of the Union troops previous to their advance into Virginia.

The city was a recruiting station and headquarters constantly during the civil war, contributing company after company of its own young men, the pride of the county, to the Union army. It was the only city in the Northern States to suffer frequent pillage and in the end destruction. Its contiguity to the border made it

the objective point for a number of Confederate incursions. It was invaded by Gen. J. E. B. Stuart in 1862, and again in 1863 by Gen. Jenkins, and again by Gen. Lee and his army in 1863, and was burned by Gen. McCausland July 30, 1864, entailing a loss upon its citizens approximating \$2,000,000.

During Lee's invasion in 1863 Chambersburg was his headquarters before he marched to Gettysburg to meet defeat at the hands of the Union army. It was in the public square of the city that the great Confederate chieftain held his conference with his corps commanders, Ewell, Longstreet, and A. P. Hill, before the advance to Gettysburg was determined.

By the burning of the city over 2,500 people were rendered homeless. Over five hundred residences, business houses, and other buildings were consumed. The outskirts only were left. It was a scene the sufferers can never forget. The day was a clear, oppressive one, and the heavy, black columns of suffocating smoke rose high in the air, gradually diffusing themselves aloft as if mingling with the clouds. The crash of falling timbers, the crackle of burning wood, the last cries of agony from perishing animals, the frantic appeals of citizens, all mingled in one common sound and turned the air into a very pandemonium.

Chambersburg has a large number of manufacturing establishments. Among the more important are: Wolf Co.'s extensive plant for the manufacture of mill machinery; T. B. Wood's Sons, founders and machinists; the Engineering Co., steam engines; the C. V. R. R. shops; Sierer & Co.'s furniture factory, the woolen and hosiery mills, shoe factory, carriage and marble works, saw and planing mills, grist and steam flouring mills, ice plants, and numerous smaller industries, employing an army of workmen.

The city has reasons to be proud of her educational institutions. At the head of these stands Wilson College, for the higher education of women, with its attractive grounds and buildings; and the Chambersburg Academy, which a few years ago celebrated its centennial. In addition to these are its forty or more public and private schools. From her academy and schools the city has sent out into the world men eminent in the professions and prominent in shaping the destinies of our country.

Suburban attractions and resorts are: Wilson College and companion buildings on Philadelphia Avenue; Wolf's park and lake; the reservoirs on Federal Hill and at Siloam, in connection with

the latter also delightful picnic grounds; the Children's Home, the only institution of the kind in the commonwealth that does not receive State aid; Hawthorne Spring, east of the city, which bubbles from the magnificent lawn in front of Hawthorne mansion and park and empties its pure water into the Falling Spring a short distance before it reaches the city; the splendid drives throughout the first Scotch-Irish settlements in Hamilton, Letterkenny, and Greene townships, which include the old Rocky Spring Church, a swing around and across the Salem road bringing you through Culbertson's Row and Green Village to Scotland, where the covenanters worshiped in the Thomson orchard more than one hundred years ago, and near which is now located the Soldiers' Orphans' Industrial School; or, you may join one of the daily excursions to Mont Alto Park, or Pen-Mar, a mountain city of summer houses and resorts; or, tiring of these, you may extend your trip over the historic Thaddeus Stevens' "Tapeworm" route to the battlefield at Gettysburg.

The railroad facilities of Chambersburg are admirable. The Cumberland Valley Railroad, a part of the Pennsylvania system, with all that that implies, running from Harrisburg to Winchester, Va., has its offices as well as extensive shops in Chambersburg, and is a corporation of which every citizen feels proud. It makes connection with the numerous railroads which center at Harrisburg, at Hagerstown with the Norfolk and Western, the Western Maryland, and the Washington County Branch of the B. and O. The Cumberland Valley railroad has also branches at Chambersburg to Waynesboro on the South, and to Mercersburg and Richmond on the West. Running through the city is also the B. and C. V. branch of the Western Maryland. The city, which has a population of 9,000, is lighted by electricity, and the franchise for the right of way for an electric railway is now under consideration by the City Council.

The streets are shaded by maple, horse-chestnut, linden, elm, and buttonwood, and in the spring and summer are charming. The care and taste which have been lavished upon homes evidence a people of culture well founded in the conservative impulses which cherish patriotism and encourage order and intelligence. Three well-equipped daily and five weekly newspapers are published in the city, and there are sixteen churches and chapels. There are eight well-conducted hotels, and but three regular sa-

loons. It is a city with a record to be envied, a history exceptional, and traditions interesting.

With pure water and bracing atmosphere, the city has never been known to have been visited with an epidemic. "Then," as remarked by an enthusiastic citizen, "we have beautiful scenery, grand mountains, unrivaled markets, a county rich in agriculture and mineral wealth—iron, flint, and copper—and soil that laughs a crop when tickled with a hoe." He added: "While doctors abound—and they are the best in the profession—their familiar salutation, 'Isn't it distressingly healthy?' has become a byword when they meet."

Beautiful for situation, fair to look upon, grand in its surroundings, located in the center of the most beautiful valley God has created, bounded by the everlasting hills, verdure-covered and forest-crowned, all forming a picture as beautiful and exquisite as any in Italy or Switzerland—this is Chambersburg, which has the conceded title of "The Queen City of the Cumberland Valley."

A TRIBUTE

TO THE

PRINCIPLES, VIRTUES, HABITS, AND PUBLIC
USEFULNESS OF THE IRISH AND SCOTCH
EARLY SETTLERS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

HON. GEORGE CHAMBERS,
Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

Reprinted after special permission and by resolution of the
Scotch-Irish Society.

PREFACE.

THE writer of the tribute contained in this work had long desired to see from the historical publications in Pennsylvania a vindication of the character and principles of the Irish and Scotch early settlers of this great State and their descendants against the reproach, as well as the aspersion, cast upon them in some modern compilations having pretensions to historical accuracy.

Appreciating highly the religious and moral character, intelligence, industry, and energy of those settlers, as well as their great usefulness in raising the standard of education, in promoting religious Christian influence, in defending the frontier against the French and Indians, and in their patriotic devotion of their lives and fortunes to the cause of American independence, he did think that if there were any class of citizens of Pennsylvania entitled to gratitude and reverence, not only from their descendants but from all others enjoying the blessings of a home and a residence under this free government, it was the Irish and Scotch early settlers of Pennsylvania.

The events in the lives of these men, and the incidents of the times in which they were actors, political, civil, religious, or military, which led to the prosperity of the State and the establishment of the free institutions under which we live, prosper, and are happy, should be to every American citizen objects of peculiar interest.

Instead of acknowledgments of gratitude and reverence for the men who were the pioneers of the province of Pennsylvania, laying broad and deep the foundations of its prosperity and republican government, we have been chagrined to find them slighted in some historical compilations of Pennsylvania history; whilst we have been incensed at the unjust and unfounded aspersions cast by others upon the race.

Having the blood of some of those early settlers flowing in our veins, and having been born, ever lived, and prospered on Pennsylvania soil, we feel as if we were under obligations, in common with many others, to come up to the vindication of the reputation of ancestors who long since have rested from their labors, and who by toil and sacrifices did much to achieve the inheritance which their posterity and others are enjoying.

We have presumed to offer the sketch herein contained as our tribute to the memory and reverence of those settlers. The writer, feeling as if the sand of his time glass was nearly run out, and that he ere long must be laid aside from labor, and that if any thing were done by him in vindication of the principles, virtues, and habits of these settlers of a past age it must be done quickly, has hastily thrown together in his leisure hours, taken from other avocations, the remarks contained in the subsequent pages.

It has little merit, other than a compilation from public documents, historical records, and traditions from reliable sources, together with some observations of the writer, whose reminiscences go into the past century.

It is but a summary of facts and illustrations and an outline to be extended by some one better qualified, having more time and better access to historical collections of the early history of Pennsylvania, of which there is a dearth. It will be ample gratification to him if this tribute shall be a leader to some more extended vindication of the character of the Irish and Scotch early settlers of Pennsylvania, which will be worthy of a place amongst the historical records of this great State.

The author acknowledges his obligation for information, in the preparation of this work, to Dr. Foote's "Sketches of North Carolina and Virginia," Day's "Historical Collections," Dr. Smith's "Old Redstone," Dr. Alexander's "Log College," Dr. Miller's "Life of Dr. Rodgers," Dr. Elliott's "Life of McCurdy and Others," Craig's "History of Pittsburg," Hazard's "Colonial Records and Archives of Pennsylvania," and "American Archives" by Force, and Gordon's "History of Pennsylvania," Mr. Rupp's "Histories of Lancaster, Cumberland, and Franklin Counties. G. C.

Chambersburg, Pa., 1856.

CHAPTER I.

Classes of Emigrants—Dissensions—Rivalries—James Logan—Dickinson—Franklin in Opposition to Emigrants—Mr. Day's Accusation—Trespasses on Lands Claimed by Indians—Their Complaints—Redress—Other Causes of Dissatisfaction with the White Inhabitants and Proprietary Agents—Traders—and French Influence—Causes of War.

THE province of Pennsylvania was early attractive to emigrants from other countries. It was recommended by its free and constitutional government; by the character of its fundamental laws, adopted and established by the first emigrants to its territory; its fertile soil, salubrious and temperate climate; its adaptation to a large and rural population; with advantages for trade, commerce, and manufactures. The dissatisfaction prevailing with large classes of intelligent, industrious, and enterprising men, under several of the European governments, directed their attention to the American colonies, and by men of this character Pennsylvania was generally preferred for their abode, after the organization of its government.

The population of Pennsylvania was made up of emigrants from various parts of Europe. They were not homogeneous, but were diversified by their origin, religious principles, habits, and language. They were united in devotion to the principles of the reformation, and in favor of civil and religious liberty. Equality of rights and the liberty of worship according to the dictates of conscience were standard principles so founded and guarded that no party or power dared to assail them. These established and avowed principles made Pennsylvania a desirable asylum for the oppressed and persecuted of all nations.

The diversity which characterized the inhabitants divided them into three classes, whose separation was maintained unbroken for some generations, and is not even yet effaced. They were the English, the Scots and Irish, and the Germans. The associates and followers of Penn, who were amongst the first to establish her government, were an honest, intelligent, virtu-

ous, peaceful, and benevolent population, known in England and the colonies by the name of Friends or Quakers. Much of the wealth of the province was with them, and as their location was in the city of Philadelphia, or in the country near it, they were influential in the organization of the provincial government. They were able also, from their numbers, to maintain an ascendancy in the Assembly and to control its legislation. As the proprietary was, in his associations and principles, of their Society, there was generally harmony and correspondent sentiment between the Quaker party and the proprietary and the officers of his appointment, most of whom were of the Society of Friends. The Quakers were an orderly, industrious, and law-abiding people, cultivating peace with all men. They had their peculiarities of dress, manners, language, and religious worship, opposition to war and military service, which distinguished them from the other population of the province.

The Germans were of different denominations of Christians and of varied origin. The Swiss Mennonites were amongst the earliest who entered this province, about the beginning of the last century. They came in considerable numbers and settled in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, about Pequea and other parts of what formed Lancaster County. They were orderly, industrious, and frugal farmers; peaceful and honest in all their relations and dealings. They resembled the Quakers in opposition to war and military service, and in maintenance of peace principles. The Lutheran and German Reformed Germans, who had been emigrating since 1710, settled before 1720 in considerable numbers in parts of what are now in the counties of Montgomery, Bucks, Berks, and Lancaster. Others of the same class continued to arrive yearly, and in some years the influx of these German emigrants was so great as to alarm some of the English first settlers, lest the Germans should make a German province of Pennsylvania. Amongst these Germans, though mostly Lutheran and German Reformed, there were some Mennonites and Dunkards.

The French Huguenots who settled in Pennsylvania were but few, some of whom settled about 1712 on Pequea Creek, which seems to have been an attractive country for settlement to emigrants from different parts of Europe.

These Germans were a hardy, frugal, and industrious people, and in many districts have preserved their foreign manners and language. They have established in every part of the State communities much respected for religious and moral character; many of them emigrated for conscience's sake, and others to improve their condition and circumstances. Their industry and frugality have enabled them to add greatly to their own wealth and resources, whilst they were increasing that of the province and State. With most of this class, education has been promoted, and their descendants, in acquirements and intelligence, are in advance of their ancestors, and many are amongst the most respectable and useful citizens of the commonwealth; whilst they have, by branches of their families, contributed greatly to the industrious and useful population of several of the Western States.

Emigrants from Scotland and Ireland constituted a large portion of the early settlers of Pennsylvania. Many of these were called Scotch-Irish, from the circumstance that they were the descendants of Scots, who had by the government been encouraged to take up their residence in the North of Ireland, and to the improvement and civilization of which they had greatly contributed; but being oppressed by the tyranny and exactions of a despotic and profligate monarch, and the restrictions and penalties imposed by an obsequious Parliament, as well as the intolerance and persecutions of a haughty hierarchy, expatriated themselves, with their families, to the American colonies. To these were added many of the native Irish from the North of Ireland, as well as emigrants from Scotland. Pennsylvania was the selection of the most of them, when they considered that, under the charter of Penn and the fundamental laws of the province, they could enjoy civil and religious liberty. They sought an asylum from Church and State intolerance and oppression, if it were to be had only in the wilderness of another continent, under a government of equal rights. They were nearly all Presbyterians in their Church relations, and many of them had settled in Pennsylvania before the close of the seventeenth century.

The emigrants from Ireland and Scotland approached so close in national character, and were so congenial in sentiments,

habits, and religious principles, having in the land from which they emigrated suffered from common grievances, that they were identified as one people. As professors of religion, they united in Church organizations and worshiped together at the same Christian altars.

The first settlements of this class were in Bucks County, but chiefly in the territory which, in 1729, was organized into the county of Lancaster. Settlements were made in it about 1717, on Octorora Creek, and about the same time or earlier in Pequea, and in 1722 in Donegal and Paxton. In 1730 and 1734, the same class of emigrants, with the license of the proprietary government, located themselves in the Kittochtinny Valley, west of the Susquehanna, where they increased rapidly and in a few years formed there a large, respectable, and influential community.

Under a free government of equal rights, with political power accessible to all the citizens, it was to be expected that among these different classes or races of emigrants there would be rivalries and competition, as well as jealousies of ascendancy and political power. They would be apt to differ in their opinions of public measures, as well as in their predilections for the men who were to establish measures or execute them.

The Quakers had the advantage of the other classes in that they were parties to the first organization of the government and in the establishment of the first three counties of Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks, and in regulating their representation. In those counties they had the majority of the inhabitants, which enabled them to elect as members of the Assembly and the Council such as were entirely acceptable to them.

Their majority in the Assembly, which prevailed for a long time, made its legislation to conform to their wishes and principles, the proprietary, who belonged to their Society, being disposed generally to coöperate with them.

From the great influx of emigrants from Ireland, Scotland, and Germany, there was every prospect that the control of the Legislature of the provincial government would pass from the hands of the Quakers into that of one of these other classes, and that those who had been instrumental in establishing the government and putting it in operation should be reduced to a powerless minority.

In the early administration of the provincial government James Logan was a prominent, intelligent, and influential member, being for many years a member of the Council, and also the President of the Council, as well as enjoying other high and important offices. Though of Irish origin, he had become affiliated with the Society of Friends, of which he professed to be one. He adopted their principles and manifested his willingness to maintain them, except he was disposed to go further for the defense of the country against its enemies, and was not entirely adverse to all military measures.

He had, however, the confidence of the Quaker party, who retained him in influential stations of the government as long as his health and age would allow. Logan saw clearly, from the accession which the province was yearly receiving of substantial, intelligent, and respectable emigrants from Scotland and Ireland, that the Quaker rule in the government would be restrained or supplanted. He knew well the character of his countrymen, to be inquisitive, energetic, and independent. They would know their rights, and, knowing them, would dare to maintain them without the fear of man. It was not to be expected that men who had scrutinized and contested the powers of a royal government were going to live passive under the administration of a government in which they had equal rights with all its citizens. The day must come when their voice would be heard, felt, and respected in the government of the province.

They did exercise their right of suffrage at the elections in Lancaster and York Counties, in opposition to the candidate selected from and supported by the Quakers. They were sometimes successful in their opposition and in the election of their own candidates. In these election contests there were much excitement and feeling, and they were attended with irregularities, disorder, and breaches of the peace discreditable to the authors; yet these excesses were short of like disorders and of the frauds committed on the elective franchise in these days of progress and refinement, under the laws of our great republic, and which are to be reprobated as great public offenses, subversive of the rights of the citizens and the purity of elections, and reproachful to the law and its officers. In these election contests the Germans generally took part with the Friends and supported

their candidates. The German Mennonites accorded so much with the Quakers, in their opposition to military service, supplies, or measures of defense that they were the partisans of the candidate supported by the Quakers. About this time James Logan began to undervalue his countrymen and to speak disparagingly of emigrants from Ireland as being undesirable settlers.

In 1729 he expresses "himself glad to find that the Parliament is about to take measures to prevent their too free emigration to this country." "It looks," says he, "as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither; for last week not less than six ships arrived, and every day two or three arrive also. The common fear is that, if they continue to come, they will make themselves proprietors of the province." "It is strange," says he, "that they thus crowd where they are not wanted." What made him pronounce them "audacious and disorderly" was that they entered on and settled lands in the southern part of Lancaster County, toward the Maryland line, "York Barrens," without approaching him to propose the purchase, and when challenged for their titles said, as their excuse, that "the proprietary and his agents had solicited for colonists and that they had come accordingly."

In 1725 he complains "that there are so much as one hundred thousand acres of land possessed by persons (including Germans), who resolutely set down and improve lands, without any right, and he is much at a loss to determine how to dispossess them."

He also represents the Irish emigrants as "troublesome settlers to the government and hard neighbors to the Indians." In placing an estimate upon the opinions of Logan, respecting the Irish emigrants, regard must be had for his position at the time in the government. He had so long enjoyed a commanding influence in the affairs of this government, under Quaker rule, that he was jealous of any power that would thwart him in measures and policy, or impair his influence. There were parties under the provincial government as well as under that of the commonwealth. The Governor had his friends and partisans and the Assembly theirs, whilst the Council went with one or the other as they were inclined. Between these there were

conflicts in the exercise of their respective powers that were marked with feeling and excitement. Logan was the leader of the proprietary party, and often had to encounter opposition and defeat from the Assembly. The Irish and Scotch vote in the province was becoming larger and more commanding, and often exercised control in the election of members of the Assembly and other officers. Logan had occasion to know its power and opposition, and would have preferred an unbroken influence in the Council and in the measures of government. He was generally in opposition to Gov. Keith, decidedly the best and most popular of the proprietary deputies, and was thus arrayed against the popular will, of which the intelligent and patriotic emigrants of Ireland and Scotland were influential exponents. There is much reason to believe that it was this limitation on his power in the government that made him hostile to Irish and Scotch emigration, and led him to speak disparagingly of their character, as well as disposed to adopt the policy of restraining their immigration into the province by prohibition or taxation.

His declaration was that "the common fear is that, if they continue to come, they will make themselves proprietors of the province." He would have preferred that the government should continue permanently under the rule of the Quaker party, though the population of the province could be numbered by hundreds and its cultivated lands by a handbreadth.

A like prejudice was exhibited about the same period, in another quarter, against the German influence in the province. The influx of German emigrants was so great as to cause alarm to some politicians. It was feared by them "that the numbers from Germany, at the rate they were coming in 1725-27, will soon," as Jonathan Dickinson expressed himself at the time, "produce a German colony here, and perhaps such a one as Britain once received from Saxony." Jonathan Dickinson was respected for integrity and intelligence, having the public confidence. He had held the offices of Chief Justice of the Province, Speaker of the Assembly, and member of the Council. This apprehension led to the imposition of a tax, by the Assembly, on German immigrants, to discourage their immigration to this province.

Even the great, liberal, and sagacious Franklin allowed prejudice to influence his gigantic mind, in the view which he took of the German population of Pennsylvania, when, in 1755, he addressed the British public in favor of excluding any more Germans from the colonies.* Franklin, we might suppose, would have discriminated between the intelligent, moral, and industrious portion of the German population, that were desirable as settlers, for good and useful habits, and who in time would comprehend their relations to a new government and conform to its requisitions, and the immense swarms of Palatine Boors who were landed in the province, ignorant, indolent, unruly, and vicious.

In those days of party divisions and dissensions, this eminent and patriotic statesman did not escape reproach and calumny in high places. "Gov. Morris, under the influence of angry feelings, accused Franklin to the ministry of using his office of Postmaster General to obstruct the king's service and to the proprietaries of the design of wresting from them the government."† Franklin devoted his time and labor to the discoveries of science and to promote the prosperity and welfare of his country, and lived to establish a reputation for genius, ability, integrity, and patriotism that is imperishable. Time and experience reconciled him and the wise and good of all parties to the great acquisition in the German emigration, for the growth, resources, and prosperity of Pennsylvania as a province and State.

A representation unfavorable to the character of the Mennonites was made to Gov. Gordon in 1727: "That a large number of Germans, peculiar in their dress, religion, and notions of political government, had settled in Pequea and were determined not to obey the lawful authority of the government; that they had resolved to speak their own language, and to acknowledge no sovereign but the great Creator of the universe." Opposition was made to their admission as citizens, and it was not until 1741 that a law was passed for their naturalization. They had declared their readiness to pay their taxes and that they were subject to those in authority.

From their conscientious scruples against bearing arms, they

* Spark's "Franklin," Vol. 7, p. 71. † Gordon, 330.

did not enter the army to fight the battles of the country, but when independence was acknowledged and a new government organized and established they were obedient in all things to its requisitions. They have ever been in Pennsylvania a peaceable, industrious, and moral community, paying their taxes regularly, avoiding strife, and living in peace with all men with whom they had intercourse. They never allow the poor members of their Society to be a public charge, but support them in the Society.

The Quakers, who had a majority in the Assembly, and who could and did control its Legislature in the early history of the provincial government, were subjected to severe strictures for their neglect and unwillingness to provide for the defense of the frontier of the province against the many cruel murders perpetrated by the Indians on the inhabitants.

The numerous petitions of the inhabitants of the frontier in 1754, after the defeat of the Virginia troops under Washington, and again after Braddock's defeat in 1755, imploring from the provincial government measures for their defense and protection, had but little regard from the majority of the Provincial Assembly, and led to the adoption of no efficient measures for the relief of the alarmed inhabitants and their families; and when the Indian war broke out in all its fury along the extended frontier of the province and carried massacre into hundreds of defenseless families, sparing neither age nor sex, the government had not furnished a single soldier, or arms or ammunition, either for the defense or aid of the frontier.

The inhabitants of the frontier finding that their repeated applications, as well as their unmitigated sufferings from exposure to savage enemies, were disregarded by the majority of the Assembly, though Gov. Morris had pressed upon their attention the measures of defense demanded by every obligation of duty as well as humanity, in 1750 their memorial was sent to the king and royal government respecting the defenseless state of the province, and praying the interposition of the king for the protection which was withheld from them by the Assembly of the provincial government. The petitioners, as well as the Assembly complained of, were heard by their agents and respective counsel before a committee of the Privy Council

of the royal government. That committee, after consideration, by their report, which was approved by the Board, "condemned the conduct of the Assembly in relation to the public defense since the year 1742." Their expressed opinion was that the Legislature of Pennsylvania, as of every other country, was bound by the original compact of government to support such government and its subjects. That the measures intended for that purpose by the Assembly were improper, inadequate, and ineffectual, and that there was no cause to hope for other measures whilst the majority of the Assembly consisted of persons whose avowed principles were against military services, who, though not a *sixth* part of the inhabitants of the province, were contrary to the principles, the policy, and the practice of the mother country, admitted to hold offices of trust and profit and to sit in the Assemblies without their allegiance being secured by the sanction of an oath. This report was adopted by the Privy Council, and a copy directed to be sent to the province.*

The repeated complaints of the inhabitants against the remissness and neglect of a Quaker Legislature to provide for the defense of the frontier were thus sustained by the royal government. When the opinion of the ministry on the conduct of the Quakers was communicated to the Provincial Assembly, some of the members of that Society resigned their seats. Others declined reelection, and some flattered themselves that they could reconcile their consciences with the measures of the Assembly.

The dissensions between the inhabitants of the frontier interior of the province, who were mostly of Scotch or Irish origin, and the Quaker party were still continued with excited feelings and prejudices on both sides. The Scotch-Irish freemen complained that while they had increased greatly in numbers, and were opening out the wilderness and extending cultivation, as well as defending the frontier of the province at the expense of their blood and lives against the Indians and the French allies, who were the public enemy of the country, they were without the assistance and protection from the provincial government to which they were justly entitled; and amongst the grievances complained of influencing the legislation of the Assembly to

* Gordon's "History," 337, 339.

their prejudice was the inequality of 1764 in the representation of the counties, the three counties of Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks, with a Quaker population, having twenty-six representatives; whilst the counties of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northampton had collectively but ten members.

The dissatisfaction existing between the Scotch and Irish inhabitants and the Quakers under the provincial government was the occasion of criminations and recriminations. The Quakers charged the Scotch-Irish with being haters of the Indian, inimical to him, and with inciting the Indian wars by their encroachments; while the Scotch and Irish inhabitants, in their memorial to the royal government, charged the Quakers with secretly supporting the Indians by holding treaties and correspondence with them during the war, and with having bestowed on them arms, ammunition, and tomahawks, even when they were murdering the frontier inhabitants." * The opinions and accusations of both parties were made, it is believed, under a cloud of prejudices excited by partisans with discolored representations, and founded on slight evidence, weighed in scales held by a partial hand.

Time and experience proved the policy advocated by politicians of distinction in the province, of restraining the immigration of both the Irish and the Germans into the settlement of its wild land, to be so short-sighted and contracted that, if adopted, it would have been ruinous to the fundamental interests of the province and its government. The opinion of such politicians deserves but little regard, in their estimation of the principles and character of whole and numerous classes of their fellow-men, who are commended or censured as they accorded with or opposed their views or purposes in times of party excitement, when there is a contest between such leaders for official power and influence. Their opinions receive their bias and coloring from their own selfish feelings, and fluctuate with the rise and fall of parties.

Had the policy advocated by Logan, Dickinson, and Franklin been adopted as a permanent one, in the provincial government, of restraining immigration, upon which the population depended for its security and prosperity, and which has elevated

* Gordon's "History," 422.

it to the highest rank in the American colonies, and had the immigrants been denied the privilege of an asylum on its territory, these excluded immigrants would have sought permanent homes in other colonies, and the growth and improvement of Pennsylvania have been greatly retarded.

Without the aid, strength, and resources afforded to Pennsylvania by its immigration of Irish, Scotch, and Germans from 1725 to 1750, who would have been the pioneers of its immense wilderness, opened out its unbroken forests, cultivated its lands, and, in the infancy of the province, reared so many habitations for Christian families, or erected in the "backwoods" so many edifices dedicated to the worship of the God of their fathers? Without such immigration, before the Indian wars, the frontiers of the province would have extended little beyond the Schuylkill; and the citizens of Philadelphia, with their wives and children, would have been exposed to the torch, hatchet, and scalping knife of the savages and their midnight murderous assault and slaughter, and the Kittochtinny Valley in its length and breadth have remained a wilderness. Without such immigrants and their descendants, how few would have been found in Pennsylvania the advocates of American independence and resistance to royal usurpation and tyranny, and who would have filled up the ranks or commanded the armies of Pennsylvania in the war of the revolution, in which the liberties of the American people were defended and their independence established?

A more impartial age has expunged from historical record the prejudices and aspersions which in the early history of this province were cast on the German population or the Society of Friends, and they have been allowed to pass almost into oblivion; and if recalled, it is only to make known the occasion of their existence and the temper, feelings, and rivalry which brought them to life. Both of these great classes of the early settlers of the province are respected and commended for their virtues and usefulness.

Why is it that a like liberality and justice are not extended to the Scotch and Irish settlers of Pennsylvania and their descendants? Why is time not allowed to cast a shade over accusations against them which had a like origin in party rivalry and no better foundation than bad temper and perverted judgment?

Were their evil deeds so many and so great that the mantle of charity can neither conceal nor cover them? If so, where is the evidence of them?

They were men who laid broad and deep the foundations of a great province, and who, with a master's hand, erected a structure of government that was stable, capacious, and elevated; whose prosperity and greatness command admiration and which, by public accord, constitute the great keystone of the political arch of the American Union.

The men who were instrumental in building up this structure of government, with its free institutions of religious and civil liberty, were more than ordinary men, to hold the plow and handle the ax or ply the shuttle. They had other qualities, we would infer from their works, than enterprise, energy, bravery, and patriotism, and they were not surpassed for lofty virtue and consistent piety.

When we survey the Kittochtinny Valley, between the Susquehanna and Potomac, with its cultivated and improved farms, flourishing towns and villages, its church edifices in which Christian worship and ordinances are regularly observed, seminaries of learning of every grade, its high intellectual, social, and moral condition; and remember that, little more than one century since, the same valley was a wilderness, its population the Indian hunter and its habitation the hut of the savage or the dwelling of the beaver—are we not led to inquire who, under God, were the authors of this great work? A large portion of the population of this valley, at the present time, are the descendants of its first settlers. Do they not feel that to their ancestors and their memory they owe a debt of endless gratitude for their works and services? Are they not interested in knowing and proclaiming the principles that guided the first settlers in making this valley the abode of civilization and the homes of an intelligent, enterprising, religious, and moral community? Who is it that now shares the common blessings that result to the now comfortable and independent occupants of this delightful free valley from the privations, toils, sacrifices, persevering industry, and virtue of the men who dwelt in it when a wilderness and transformed it to cultivated fields, meadows, and gardens, with commodious and elegant dwellings, that

does not feel an interest in knowing the character of those who accomplished so much for those of this generation and their posterity? Other communities of the same Scot and Irish origin have at an early period peopled other parts of Pennsylvania, whose progress, improvement, principles, and virtues were attended with the same happy success and prosperity as characterized this portion of the Kittochtinny Valley. The Scotch and Irish element was here more universal and extensive, and embraced a larger community of the same religious creed and forms of worship of the same homogeneous tastes and principles.

The character of the people who first settle any country or establish their government generally determines that of their descendants. Such is our estimation of the character, principles, and habits of the first Irish and Scotch settlers of this province that all their descendants may, we think, be satisfied to have their character measured by the same standard. What Pennsylvania is as a great and prosperous State of free institutions she owes to the mass of her original settlers.

Justice has not been done to the Scotch and Irish race in the histories of the American colonies and States. In some instances they are slighted and in others traduced. For permitting this without rebuke and vindication their descendants are not free from censure. The character of their ancestors is part of their inheritance, which they are bound by every obligation of duty to reverence and defend.

To the Puritan settlers of New England there has been a different measure of justice, respect, and honor. Their principles, virtues, institutions, and public usefulness have not only been recorded on the pages of history but in numerous eulogies and addresses on the return of the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock. Whilst the sons of New England unite yearly in bearing their testimony and tribute to the purity and transcendent merits of their ancestors, the descendants of other races throughout the republic concur in honoring their memory and in commemorating their principles and virtues. There were errors and public wrongs that were reproachful imputable to some of the first settlers of New England, chargeable to individual communities and arising out of the state

of the country, prejudices, excitement, and delusions; but historic truth does not require that they should be permanently recorded to their reproach without an exhibit of the extenuating circumstances under which they originated, and much less that the misdeeds of individuals or of a limited community should be proclaimed as a stigma on the whole Puritan race of the New England colonies. Blemishes that might be found in the early history of these colonies have been allowed to pass into oblivion and be lost in the effulgence of the mass of excellence which adorned the character of many of the early settlers of New England.

To the credit of New England men, they have led off in paying an early tribute to the memory of their ancestors by recording and perpetuating their principles, patriotism, and public usefulness. Such was the position of the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut during the revolutionary contest and the war of independence that their history and that of their inhabitants in earlier times are matters of national interest and deserving of national gratitude and reverence. Whilst we accord to the early settlers of New England great merits and eminent usefulness, it is believed that the Scotch and Irish early settlers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, in energy, enterprise, intelligence, patriotism, religious and moral character, the maintenance of civil and religious liberty, and inflexible resistance of all usurpation in Church or State, were not surpassed by any class of settlers in the American colonies. Has this high character been regarded and acknowledged as it deserved by the compilers of history in Pennsylvania? It has not. Some compilers of local history in Pennsylvania have accorded to the Scotch and Irish early settlers religious and moral character of a high standard as well as great public service and usefulness, whilst the authors of some historical collections and memoirs have indulged in wholesale accusations to their reproach.

The aspersions cast upon the ancestors of the mass of the best citizens of this State require investigation and that the accusers furnish the evidence to which they refer in order to sustain their calumnies. From the acquaintance of the writer with the character of the Scotch and Irish settlers who were the early actors in the settlement of the province of Pennsylvania, he af-

firmly that the accusations and reproaches thus imputed to the Scotch-Irish race in Pennsylvania are unfounded and unjust.

If such accusations to the reproach of our ancestors who have been in their graves for half a century or more be allowed to pass without contradiction or refutation, time and repetition may give them currency and credit; and the fair fame of the men who had high claims on the country and posterity for a life of labor, industry, toil, sacrifices, and peril, in its improvement, defense, and prosperity, may be unjustly prejudiced in the estimation of readers who may take their opinions from an author who has adopted some stale and selfish prejudice which, in its origin, had neither foundation, credit, nor influence.

Mr. Sherman Day, in his "Historical Collections of Pennsylvania" (in 1843, page 23), in speaking of the Scotch-Irish, says: "They were a pertinacious and pugnacious race, pushing their settlements upon unpurchased lands about the Juniata, producing fresh exasperation among the Indians. Massacres ensued, the settlers were driven below the mountains, and the whole province was alive with the alarms and excitements of war."

The only approach to a specification is by Mr. Day, wherein he charges upon the Scotch-Irish the encroachments upon the unpurchased lands of the Indians about the Juniata, and the massacre and war which ensued from these encroachments. For a charge so grave and reproachful as being the authors of the savage war that desolated the border settlements of the province, the reader is not referred, by Mr. Day, to either dates, events, or any historical record or document to verify the accusation. We are unwilling to believe that Mr. Day had any disposition to misrepresent the Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania; but, as his historical work was a hasty compilation of much general and local history, opinions and statements may have been adopted without full investigation, and the prejudice and misrepresentations of the leaders or classes opposed to the Scotch-Irish race in the province of Pennsylvania received as veritable history, in which he was misled and his publication made the instrument of wrong and injustice to a numerous and most respectable class of citizens.

The wars between the Indians of Pennsylvania and its white inhabitants did not occur before 1755, the year of Braddock's

expedition and defeat. Then, and for some years preceding, the Scotch and Irish immigrants constituted the great mass of the effective population of the province. They were settled in great numbers in various parts of the county of Lancaster, on the southeastern and western borders of York County, in the county of Northampton, and formed nearly the entire population of the Kittochtinny Valley, in the county of Cumberland, between the Susquehanna and the Potomac Rivers. As the cession by the Indians in 1736 of their claims to lands west of the Susquehanna and to the Kittochtinny Mountains, as a western boundary, together with the adjustment, in 1737, of the temporary line between the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, left this great valley between these rivers open to settlement, the influx into it of substantial settlers of Irish and Scotch origin was great after 1737, and continued with little abatement for many years. Yet with all this influx of settlers and appropriation of land it is believed that in 1750 more than one-half of the arable land in this valley, desirable for both fertility and other advantages, was still open for entry and settlement. At that time there were in the Kittochtinny Valley about one thousand families; and in the counties of Franklin and Cumberland, which embrace this part of the same valley, it appears by the United States census of 1850 that there were then in occupation four thousand and eighty-nine farms. From the condition of this valley as an agricultural district, it is manifest that in 1750 and before there was vacant land within its boundaries that was suitable and desirable for a settler, greatly beyond what was required to satisfy the wants or reasonable demands of immigration. It does not appear from provincial records that the Indians at any time complained of the settlements in the Kittochtinny Valley west of the Susquehanna. These settlements were made under licenses from the proprietary government before the cession with the approbation of the Indians and after the cession by official grants in the regular form from the Land Office, to which Indian consent was not wanting.

The complaints by the Indians of encroachments by the white inhabitants on their unpurchased land were in 1742 and after, and were confined to illegal settlements on lands in Tulpehocken, on the Juniata, Aughwick, Path Valley, and on

Licking Creek; near the Potomac River, which embraced the Big and Little Coves. These settlements, with the exception of Tulpehocken, were in a mountainous country, extending from the Susquehanna to the Potomac, a distance of eighty miles, being west of the Kittochtinny Mountains, and most of them west of the Tuscarora. Mr. Day, in the extract from his "History" recited, referred only to the Juniata as the locality of the Scotch-Irish encroachments which were so offensive to the Indians. There is the highest authority, being that of R. Peters, Esq., Secretary of the provincial government, in his report to the governor, that the first settlers who entered on the unpurchased lands at the Juniata were Germans,* and were followed by some Irish emigrants, and at the visit of Mr. Peters he found but six. The settlers who entered on the lands at Tulpehocken before the purchase were German Palatines who came from the province of New York.†

The settlements in Path Valley, Sherman's Valley, and Aughwick were made up of a few families of Irish and German origin; whilst those on the Licking Creek hills, near the Potomac, were by settlers most of whom came from Maryland and claimed under Maryland rights, and consisted of emigrants from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Germany.‡ The provincial boundary line having been extended by survey only to the summit of the Kittochtinny Mountain, it was still uncertain how much of the Licking Creek hills or coves were within the boundary and jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, which was not established until by Mason and Dixon's line in 1767. It was on this district of uncertain jurisdiction that the Indians, with their French allies, made their first bloody and murderous slaughter of the defenseless settlers and their families in October, 1755.

Immediately after the organization of the county of Cumberland, in 1750, the provincial government took measures for the removal of the settlers west of the Kittochtinny and Tuscarora Mountains. Richard Peters, Esq., Secretary, with the aid of the magistrates and sheriff of Cumberland County, repaired to the several places of settlement, being accompanied

* Colonial Records, 5, 445.

† Ib., 3, 323. In all visited by R. Peters and magistrates, sixty-two.

‡ Ib., 5, 445.

with delegates from some of the Indian tribes and an interpreter. The measures of these officers were effective. The settlers were required to abandon their dwellings, which were destroyed and burned, and compelled to enter into recognizances for their appearance at the next court in Cumberland County to answer for their breach of the law. The settlers disclaimed right, acknowledged their offense, and acquiesced in the requisitions of the magistrates and the destruction of their houses, with the exception of one man, who resisted with threats, and was disarmed and imprisoned. The number of settlers found at these several places amounted to sixty-two. To whatever class of immigrants they belonged, they could not be considered as either "pertinacious" or "pugnacious." Their possessions were in the wilderness, remote from the settlements; and if lawless and disposed to resist the officers of the law and oppose their purposes, they might easily have done so. They were submissive, and under the most trying circumstances of a summary expulsion, with their families, from their dwellings, which were burned in their presence, they were left in an unbroken mountain forest, without a habitation or shelter of any kind for their families. The Secretary and magistrates executed this public duty with fidelity to the Indians and provincial government and with as much lenity to the settlers as the execution of the law would allow.

The magistrates of Cumberland County who assisted in the performance of this painful duty were of Scotch or Irish origin or descent, and were under no legal obligations to leave their homes in the Kittochtinny Valley and seek offenders against the law by traversing the wilderness for more than fifty miles and crossing rugged and elevated mountain ranges by the Indian or traders' path, and then impose and execute summary, rigid punishment on men and their families for a transgression of the laws arising out of the indulgence of the proprietary government and their ignorance of the law and its penalties.

Benjamin Chambers and George Croghan, two of their justices who were of Irish nativity, without the aid of Mr. Peters, visited the settlers, eleven in number, on Sherman's Creek, and adopted and executed the same measures for their removal and the destruction of their houses. Whatever sympathy they may

have felt for them, some of whom no doubt were their countrymen, their sense of public duty made them enforce the law, while they had to witness the great distress of poor sufferers in its execution.

Such is the history from public documents of the encroachments by the white settlers on the unpurchased lands in Pennsylvania west of the Kittochtinny Mountain, and the measures for their removal. When examined by an impartial and intelligent inquirer, can he discover anything to warrant the imputation to the whole Scotch-Irish race in the province of Pennsylvania of the wrongs committed by a few misguided settlers, who, with most peril to themselves and their families, from both the Indians and the government ventured to settle in the wilderness on unpurchased lands? The great mass of the Scotch and Irish settlers, who were cultivating and improving their farms in the remote parts of the province probably knew no more of the existence or acts of these settlers than they did of their countrymen who might be taking up an abode in other colonies or continents.

Even the inhabitants of the Kittochtinny Valley, which was the settlement of civilization nearest them, were in no respect responsible for their acts or character. They were separated from them by ranges of lofty mountains, and in place of encouraging their Scotch or Irish friends or acquaintances to make settlements where they would be exposed to Indian hostility as well as contravene the law, would have directed them to their own attractive valley, where there was an abundance of fertile vacant land, and where it was desirable as well as politic to increase the numbers and strength of the settlement by every accession of peaceful and industrious freemen. We affirm it to be illiberal and unjust to reproach the Scotch-Irish settlers of Pennsylvania as a race with being regardless of the forms of the Land Office and laws, pushing their settlements upon unpurchased lands to the exasperation of the Indians, because some few individuals of that race, with emigrants from other countries, may, under an infatuation that is unaccountable, and with an adventurous spirit that was reckless, have ventured upon some of those lands remote from the settlements.

The insinuation that these encroachments were the inciting

cause of the war waged by the Indians on the white inhabitants of the frontier settlements is not supported by public documents. The Indians, in 1742 and for some years after, did complain of these encroachments. The measures of the government in 1750 in removing the settlers and the destruction of their dwellings by public authority in the presence of some of the Indian tribes were significant evidence of the energy and sincerity of the government to restrain such encroachments, and punish the trespassers; and though these efficient measures did not entirely prevent further encroachments by a few roving adventurers, it had a tendency to discourage and restrain it, as well as to reconcile the Indians, who were but little incommoded or interfered with by the few settlers who placed themselves on the unpurchased lands, when it was their interest and safety to avoid strife with the Indians.

Whatever dissatisfaction they might still have and exhibit was quieted and removed by the treaty and cession at Albany in 1754. The lands on which encroachments had been made west of the Kittochtinny were an acknowledged part of that cession, which the Indians understood, and intended to be embraced by it, and for which alone they said they had received remuneration.

The most early, frequent, and continued subject of complaint by the Indians in their conferences with the proprietary, his agents, or the officers of the provincial government was the "long-tolerated usage of traders, *licensed* by the government, carrying to their towns and trading posts *rum and other intoxicating liquors* for traffic by sale or barter—many of the Indians, under the influence of this drink, were tempted to part with all they had for it, to their degradation and ruin," were excited to broils, bloodshed, and murder, and when restored to sobriety they found themselves deprived of their skins and furs and were left without anything of value to clothe themselves or their families or to procure the ammunition necessary to enable them to resume the chase. Their destitution made them desperate and ready to embark in any project, though of peril, when there was any hope of plunder or reward.

The Governor of Pennsylvania, in his message of 1744, says: "I cannot but be apprehensive that the Indian trade, as it is

now carried on, will involve us in some fatal general war with the Indians. Our traders, in defiance of the law, carry spirituous liquors among them and take the advantage of their inordinate appetite for it to cheat them of their skins and their wampum, which is their money, and often to debauch their wives into the bargain. Is it to be wondered at, then, if, when they recover from their drunken fit, they should take some severe revenge?"*

Though the provincial laws forbade the traffic in intoxicating liquors with the Indians under severe penalties, and proclamations were issued almost annually by the Governor against it, calling on the officers of the government to enforce the laws, yet so great were its profits to the trader and so tempting to the poor infatuated sons of the forest that this vile trade remained unabated, and was pursued by the white traders under license from the Governor to trade, regardless of the law and its penalties and of the evils inflicted on the Indians.

The injuries done to the Indians by a few white settlers putting up their cabins and clearing and cultivating a field or a corner of the wild lands of the province on which the Indians claimed the right to hunt, were but light and trivial compared to those inflicted on their nations by the traffic in intoxicating liquors tolerated by the government and practiced by unprincipled white men.

The great dissatisfaction of the Indians in Pennsylvania was with the government of the province and the proprietary agents arising out of the cessions of land obtained from them within the province. The boundaries of some of these cessions were obscure and uncertain, and yet so comprehensive as to embrace half the province. It is not to be supposed that there was any design in this on the part of the proprietary or his agents that advantage might accrue to the proprietary from the obscurity.

As there was a great inequality in the capacity of the contracting parties, in both intelligence and power, it behooved the proprietary and his officers to use abundant caution in making the terms of the cession clearly intelligible to the ignorant and feeble savage. The lands should have been bounded by a description, referring to natural boundaries, that could not be mistaken or be open to future cavil.

* Volumes of Pennsylvania Archives, 3, 555.

The cession of 1737 by the Indians conveying lands on the Delaware was to "*extend back into the woods as far as a man can go in one day and a half.*" What a hook was here left to hang a controversy on! The Indians soon after expressed their dissatisfaction with a boundary so uncertain, and when the walk was made it tended only to increase the dissatisfaction. The white walkers selected were so expert and indefatigable that the Indians who were to accompany them complained that they could not keep up with the white men who ran.* The wound made by the agents of the proprietary in Indian confidence by this treaty and the claim and execution of it remained long an open one, and could scarcely be said to be healed when the more comprehensive and important treaty and cession were made in Albany in 1754 between the proprietary of Pennsylvania and officers and the Six Nations, which swept from under the feet of the Indians nearly all the lands claimed by them within the province in consideration of the small sum of four hundred pounds. The Indians could not have understood this wholesale disposition of this claim to their hunting grounds. When they came to consider where they stood and how little was left to them of their wide domain, their dissatisfaction was intense and general, but more particularly with the Delawares, a small but formidable tribe. They alleged that they intended only to cede the lands unsold on which the *settlers had encroached*, which did not form a tithe of what was embraced in the Albany cession.

To the Indians the encroachments of the few white settlers on the hills and in some of the small valleys west of the Kittochtiny Mountains were but a small grievance. The white settlements on the east side of those mountains would make the hunting grounds on the immediate border of little value, as the game would seek more retired woods, and the Indians had for many

*The proprietary agents had advertised in the public papers for the most expert walkers, to make the walk, offering a *reward* of five hundred acres of land in the purchase, and £5 in money, to the person who should attend and walk the farthest in the given time. The walkers desired entered on this novel race on time, through the woods, and though supplied with refreshments at points, without rest or loss of time, one of the white men sunk down exhausted under the effort, and one only was able to continue until the exhaustion of the time.—*Day. Col.*, 508.

years before these settlements withdrawn from them. The acts of the settlers were individual wrongs not justified under any pretended right which the proprietary government was bound to redress, and which its agents declared should be redressed by government authority. But the wrongs done the Indians by the officers and agents of the proprietary and provincial government were on a much more extensive scale. They were by public authority in whose acts the Indians had reposed confidence, and they were not to be satisfied that the marks of a few Indian chiefs to a single instrument of writing, which they could not read, was to be an absolute, legitimate, and conclusive transfer of their nation's claim to the lands of half the province, and for any wrong or fraud perpetrated on them by the public agents they were without appeal to or redress by higher authority.

The dissatisfaction of the Indians, under the compact of 1754, was continued without redress from the proprietary or the provincial government; and they were allowed to grieve over their lost hunting grounds and the homes of their families taken from them by the public agents and officers of a government they had regarded as their friend and protector.

The French, who were aspiring to dominion in North America at the expense of the English possessions, were extending rapidly their posts and fortresses from the northern lakes into the valley of the Ohio. Every art and device was used by them to attach the Indians to their influence and withdraw them from English alliance. They, by the line of their fortifications, were more in the neighborhood of the Indian towns and hunting grounds, which were to them places of trade and barter for supplies adapted to their conditions and wants. The Indians had an opportunity of seeing their armaments and military stores as well as to witness their enterprise, promptitude, and perseverance in furthering the purposes of their government. They did not admire the pacific temper of the provincial government, and the few English forces which they had seen before 1755 in the provinces of the English government did not impress them much in favor of the power of the government or of the bravery and intrepidity of its soldiers.

The French ingratiated themselves by presents and marked

attentions that were captivating, while they endeavored to impress on them the suspicion that the English, whose settlements were extending from the Atlantic westward, were intended to be permanent and to take from them all their hunting grounds, while they drove them to the extremity of the land.

The extended dissatisfaction with the English that followed the Albany cession was opportune for French influence, which was at once artfully used, to withdraw the Indian nations from English to French alliance. The vast territory obtained and claimed by the proprietaries of Pennsylvania under the deed of 1754 was to the Indians a confirmation of the suspicions that the French had endeavored to excite as to the design of the English to take their lands. The French, at a crisis when they were preparing for hostilities, were successful in bringing to their alliance the Indians within the province of Pennsylvania with the exception of a small number. The French posts and garrisons now became places not only for Indian resort but of organization and armament for the approaching war. Indian hostilities were soon witnessed with a vengeance and unparalleled success in the defeat of Braddock. In a few months after, they waged a cruel and merciless war on the defenseless settlers and their families of Pennsylvania; also simultaneously on those of Maryland and Virginia. The cause of that hostility could not be mistaken. For a twelvemonth it had been rankling in the breast of every Indian warrior. Their dissatisfaction was notorious, and yet the proprietary of Pennsylvania and the provincial government slumbered amidst the indications of an approaching war without any efficient measures to avert it or to provide for the defense of the frontier.

The construed authorities of the province understood well at the time the cause of the Indian hostilities with which the inhabitants were visited. They did not attribute them to the encroachments of the few Irish, Scotch, or German settlers on the unpurchased lands, many of whom, with their families, had fallen victims to the savage warfare to which, from their location, they were exposed. The responsibility for these hostilities was to be charged to those in power and authority in the province.

Gov. Morris, in his address to the Assembly of November 3,

1755, expressly tells them that it seemed clear, from the different accounts he had received, that the French had gained to their interest the Delaware and Shawnese Indians under the ensnaring pretense of restoring them to their country.

At a treaty at Easton, in 1756, the Governor desired to know of the Indians the cause of their hostile conduct. Tudyuscung, chief of the Delawares, and who represented several nations, replied: "I have not far to go for an instance; this very ground that is under me," striking it with his foot, "was my land and inheritance, and is taken from me by fraud. When I say this ground, I mean all the land between Tohecon Creek and Wyoming, on the river Susquehanna."

The Assembly, in their reply to Gov. Denny in June, 1757, say: "It is rendered beyond contradiction plain that the cause of the present Indian incursions in this province and the dreadful calamities many of the inhabitants have suffered have arisen *in a great measure* from the exorbitant and unreasonable purchases made, or supposed to be made, of the Indians, and the manner of making them—so exorbitant that the natives complain that they have not a country left to subsist in." * This fact was known to the royal government, which interposed its influence with the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and desired that the Indians should be conciliated on the subject of the boundary of the Albany cession. This was done at Easton in 1758, by a deed from the proprietaries by their agents, abridging the bounds of the conveyance of 1754, and which released to the Indians the lands situated northward and westward of the Alleghany Mountain.

The proprietaries of Pennsylvania, in their dealings and negotiations with both natives and settlers, were just, honorable, and generous. They were incapable of any fraud or imposition, and did not allow it to be practiced by their agents. Their disposition to accommodate the settlers made them indulgent to them for the small amount of purchase money asked for their lands, and made them tolerate many irregularities in the acquisition and evidence of appropriation of land from regard to the wants and necessities of the settlers and exigency of the time. A fair settlement, prosecuted with ordinary diligence, without regard

* 2 Smith's Laws, 120.

to the efficient forms of grant of land provided for and required, was yet tolerated and recognized as valid as if obtained and prosecuted in all the form required for official grants.

In their negotiations with the Indians the Commissioners appointed by the proprietaries were instructed "to conduct themselves with candor, justice, and humanity." They ever manifested their wishes to conciliate them by probity and kindness. As the residence of the proprietaries was most of the time in England, the management of the affairs in the province was necessarily committed to their agents, on whose representations they were in a great measure dependent for information respecting the measures in the province. They would no doubt sometimes be misled by the representations of their agents, and redress for alleged wrongs to either the Indian nations or the white settlers would, in consequence of the absence of the proprietaries from the province and the few and tardy channels of communication there were between the province and England, be delayed, to the injury and dissatisfaction of all parties. There would have been no war between the Indians of Pennsylvania and its inhabitants had it not been for the war waged between the English and French governments, a part of which was transferred to the American continent, where both governments were ambitious of extending their dominion. Into this conflict the Indians were brought by the French, who had been most successful in 1755 in seducing them into their alliance. The prominent and influential cause placed before the Pennsylvania Indians to incite them against the English and the provincial government of Pennsylvania were the wrongs inflicted on them under the Albany cession. The exciting cause of Indian hostilities immediately before and after Braddock's defeat is to be traced not to the encroachments of the few white settlers but to the more extensive wrongs by the government and its agents.

The settlers and their families on the frontier, being nearest and most defenseless, were the first victims to the attack in which the Indians were encouraged by Braddock's defeat. Dunbar's flight with the remainder of the army, and the omission of the royal and provincial governments to provide measures for the defense of the province against the terrible incur-

sions of the savages which were to be apprehended, soon culminated in the murder and slaughter of the inhabitants of numerous settlements without regard to age, sex, or condition.

CHAPTER II.

Detraction of Scotch-Irish by Mr. Sargent—Vindication Required—Where Did They Reside?—Who and What Were They?—Religious and Moral Character—Religious Organization—Institutions of Learning—William Tennent, Sr.—Blairs—Finley—Davies—Allisons—Smiths, and Others—Settlement in York Barrens—The Men from That Settlement—In Donegal, Paxton, and in Western Part of York County, Now Adams.

IN the introductory memoir to the journal of Braddock's expedition by Mr. Winthrop Sargent, published within the last year (1855) in Philadelphia by Messrs. Lippincott, Grambo & Co., the author has taken occasion to refer to the Scotch-Irish race in Pennsylvania in terms so opprobrious as to call for notice. He says: "They were a hardy, brave, hot-headed race; excitable in temper, unrestrainable in passion, invincible in prejudice. Their hand opened as impetuously to a friend as it clinched against an enemy. They loathed the pope as sincerely as they venerated Calvin or Knox, and they did not particularly respect the Quakers. If often rude and lawless, it was partly the fault of their position. They hated the Indian while they despised him; and it does not seem in their dealings with this race as though there were any sentiments of honor or magnanimity in their bosoms that could hold sway against the furious tide of passionate, blind resentment. Impatient of restraint, rebellious against anything that in their eyes bore the semblance of injustice, we find these men readiest among the ready on the battlefields of the revolution. If they had faults, a lack of patriotism or of courage was not among the number." *

This concentrated denunciation of a numerous race has a mea-

*"History of Braddock's Expedition," 77.

ger qualification in the preceding page, when it is stated that in each of the classes referred to by the author "were to be found men of education, intelligence, and virtue."

For this measure of reproach and opprobrium cast upon the ancestors of a large portion of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and other States there is no reference to authority or facts. The author does not accord to them integrity, enterprise, religious or moral character. The character thus imputed to men who did much for the improvement and prosperity of the province and State of Pennsylvania and for the defense of civil and religious liberty, as well as for the free institutions and independence of the republic, is at variance with all that is generally received as matter of historical truth. It is true that error and misstatement on a subject of such interest should be corrected if they exist. Accusations and reproaches, if unfounded, are to be refuted and the character of men who deserved well of society and their country should be vindicated.

It is said that character is transmissible, and that the character of descendants may be determined by what was that of their ancestors. If this be so, it is of interest to inquire into what, in truth, was the character of the Scotch and Irish early settlers of the province of Pennsylvania, that their descendants may know themselves as well as the character of their ancestors. The descendants of the early settlers in Pennsylvania, of Scotch or Irish origin, have nothing to apprehend from the investigation to the prejudice of their ancestors or themselves. To this wholesale denunciation of the Scotch-Irish race in Pennsylvania by Mr. Sargent we propose to reply by inquiring where these settlers were in Pennsylvania, and who they were, and what they were.

The accusations made against the men "who were actors in this province" at "the time that tried men's souls" are to be met by the history of the settlements made in the infancy of the province by the emigrants from Ireland and Scotland with their energy, progress, intelligence, religious and moral character, social condition, religious, educational, and patriotic tendencies.

Their ancestors were not without faults; they were men with their infirmities and made mistakes. Individuals of the race have done wrongs against society and their brethren, but not to

a greater degree than were perpetrated elsewhere in civilized communities of the same number in like circumstances. The offenses of a few infatuated, vicious, or turbulent men under a feeble government are not to be imputed as a lasting stigma and reproach to all of the same foreign origin dwelling under the same government.

As well might the respectable families of immigrants who are in these days coming to our land as their future abode be identified with the fugitives from justice and liberated felons who may have got a passage in the same steamer. Into the province of Pennsylvania for many years were shipped from Ireland and Germany great numbers of ignorant and poor subjects who were unable to pay their passage, and were sold into service for a term of years to the colonists for the amount of their passage money and were called "Redemptioners." They were held in service by the farmers and others to assist in the labor required in the towns and country, some of whom became useful and respectable citizens, but many were low and vulgar and of disorderly and vicious habits. The English government, by its authority, for a time transported to the colonies many of its convicts against the wishes, interests, and remonstrances of the colonists as well as against the public peace and welfare.* In the most orderly communities into which a portion of such material should be infused it might be expected that there would be occasional exhibitions of vice, violence, and crime to the annoyance of the public under a new government with few officers in an extended and wild territory.

The first emigrants from Ireland to the province of Penn-

* By British policy, the American colonies were made an asylum for the worst of felons, transported to them. Those persons, who, by their enormous crimes, were unfit for society in England were to be let loose on society in America, and be deemed fit servants for the colonists, and that their labor and industry might be the means of improving the said colonies *more usefully to his majesty*. Both Virginia and Maryland passed laws in restraint of this transportation, which were disallowed by the King and Council, as derogatory to the crown and Parliament. The colonies had still to endure the evils of this vicious system from the mother country, for a considerable time without remedy. It is said that about 1750 not less than from three to four hundred felons were annually brought to the State of Maryland ("British Empire in America," Vol. 3, page 23.) These convicts had, after they landed, the run and choice of the colonies before them.

sylvania came about the beginning of the last century, and settled in and near Philadelphia in the counties of Bucks, Chester, and several parts of Lancaster. They were Protestant Christians of the Presbyterian denomination, and, as characterized them and their Scotch associates wherever they formed a settlement, as soon as they had reared or obtained houses for their families they organized congregations for Christian worship. For this purpose they habitually assembled themselves together, holding to the government, creed, and doctrines of their fathers as contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith, with its Catechisms, as the rule of faith and the ecclesiastical organization which they intended to maintain for themselves and their children, and which they revered as the offspring of religious liberty that they sought to found in a province settled under a charter that proclaimed religious freedom and equal rights.

They had fled from civil oppression and religious tyranny in the land of their fathers, and they hastened in their new homes to manifest their sincerity and regard for their privileges under a government of free institutions and limited powers by erecting their houses of public worship, called "meetinghouses," dedicated to the only true God. Not being satisfied long with a licensed ministry, that afforded them occasional supplies, they sought and had settled pastors, of learning and piety, installed to the office of their Christian minister who was to go in and out before the people and to administer the received ordinances of the Church.

The first Presbyterian ministers in this country were nearly all men of liberal education. Some had received their education in the universities of Scotland, some in Ireland, and a few at one of the New England colleges. Though there was a great demand for ministers, in the rapid settlement of some parts of the province, by immigrants of the Presbyterian denomination, yet, from Dr. Alexander's research, there would seem to have been but one instance of introducing into the ministry of that Church a candidate without a college or university education, and that was under extraordinary circumstances.

The first Presbyterian Church organized, with a place of public worship, was in Philadelphia, in 1703; and in the next year, or

the year after, a Presbytery was formed, called the Presbytery of Philadelphia. In 1716 the Presbyterian body had so far increased that a Synod was constituted, consisting of four Presbyteries—viz., Philadelphia, Newcastle, Snow Hill, and Long Island.

"After the formation of the Synod, the body went on increasing, receiving additions not only by emigrants from Scotland and Ireland but also from natives of England and Wales, who came to the middle colonies, and were thrown by circumstances into the neighborhood of Presbyterian churches; and also from natives, or their descendants, of France, Holland, and Switzerland who preferred the Presbyterian form of worship or government. To these may be added a number from New England who were induced, by local considerations or other circumstances, to connect themselves with the Presbyterian body." *

As the Irish and Scotch immigrants generally preferred agriculture to other occupations, they located themselves in the rural districts on lands open to appropriation in the province, or by purchase from some earlier settler. In consequence of this rural taste and settlement Presbyterian influence and increase were more manifest and extended in the country than in the city.

Settlements of Scotch-Irish were made on the banks of the Octorora Creek, Lancaster County, in 1717. "They and their descendants," says Mr. Rupp, in the "History of Lancaster County," by him compiled and published, "have always been justly regarded as among the most intelligent people of Lancaster County. Their progress will be found to be but little behind the boasted efforts of the colony at Plymouth."† They had for their pastor Rev. Andrew Boyd, who preached to them in 1724. This testimony to the character of the settlers on Octorora is not from one who can be suspected of partiality from any affinity to the Scotch-Irish, but from an impartial historian of German descent and German religious associations.

A number of emigrants from Ireland settled about 1720, or before, in Bucks County, north of Philadelphia. Shortly after

* Dr. Miller on "Presbyterian Church," "Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge."

† Rupp's "History of Lancaster," 439.

their settlement they organized Presbyterian congregations. One of them became of notoriety in the province in having for its pastor the Rev. William Tennent, Sr., who received a call to the Presbyterian congregation on Neshaminy Creek in 1726, which he accepted. He was an emigrant from Ireland, and had been in connection with the Established Church; but shortly after his arrival in America he renounced his connection with it, and joined the Presbytery of Philadelphia. He was celebrated for his profound and accurate acquaintance with the Latin and Greek classics. At the time he was engaged with his pastoral charge at Neshaminy there existed no college nor academy of a high order in the middle colonies where young men seeking the ministry could obtain the necessary learning. About the beginning of the last century a public school was established at Philadelphia by the Society of Friends. Its first preceptor, George Keith, though a man of genius and learning, being eccentric and restless, left the school after a year, and, so far as we can discover, it did not flourish or acquire any celebrity. To obtain a qualification, young men desirous of entering the Presbyterian ministry were obliged to go to Scotland or New England for their education, and there were few candidates in the Presbyterian connection who were able to bear the expense of an education at places so remote.* William Tennent resolved to supply this destitution, as far as he was capable, by opening a school for the education of young men in the knowledge of the classics as well as in divinity. For this no man was better qualified by attainments as well as his ability and aptness as an instructor. His school was established and in operation in 1726. The building for it was erected by him a few steps from his dwelling, and was made of logs from the forest near by. The school and its Principal was visited by the celebrated Rev. George Whitefield, who traversed this country. In speaking of the building, he says: "The place wherein the young men study now is called, in contempt, 'The College.' It is a log house about twenty feet long and nearly as many broad, and to me it seemed to resemble the school of the old prophets, for their habitations were mean. All that we can say of most of our universities is that they are

* Whitefield's Journal.

glorious without. From this despised place seven or eight worthy ministers of Jesus have lately been sent forth; more are almost ready to be sent, and the foundation is now laying for the instruction of many others." *

Hon. Elias Boudinot, LL.D., who knew Mr. Tennent well, says that he was well skilled in the Latin language, that he could speak and converse in it with as much facility as in his vernacular tongue, and also that he was a proficient in the other languages. His general character appears to have been that of a man of integrity, simplicity, industry, and piety. Such was the reputation of the man who assumed to establish the first place and means of education in the colony above that of the common school, in which only the rudiments of education were taught. While he discharged his pastoral labors to his congregation faithfully, in season and out of season, at the same time his learning and talents were devoted to the education of the young men who sought their intellectual improvement and religious training under his teachings.

At such time there was no project so desirable for the best interests of the province as to raise the standard of education within it, and Mr. Tennent was the very man for the work. With the aid of his eminent son Gilbert, for a time, who was also a native of Ireland and who received his education under his father, the school was opened and conducted with success and great usefulness. William Tennent, Sr., died in 1740, at the age of seventy-three.

The character of this school and its founder is further attested by the attainments and reputation of its pupils. Plain and unpretending as was the edifice, "a log cabin" in the woods, with the minister of the neighborhood for Principal and teacher, and with opponents who ridiculed the experiment by giving to the school, in derision, the name of "Log College," yet it attracted young men of studious habits who applied themselves with diligence. It was also blessed by Providence in having for its pupils young men of superior talents, who left it with minds cultivated, disciplined, and stored with knowledge that qualified them for the study of any of the learned professions. The young men of this school prosecuted their studies as pre-

* Whitefield's Journal.

paratory to the ministry on which they entered. Among the pupils educated in this school were the four sons of the Principal, all of whom were members of the Presbyterian Church. Gilbert Tennent was ordained as a pastor in 1727. He is supposed to have been the first candidate licensed in the Presbyterian Church who was educated within its limits." * Mr. Whitefield, in his journal of his visit to the American colonies, says: "I went to the meetinghouse to hear Mr. Gilbert Tennent preach, and never before heard I such a searching sermon. He went to the bottom indeed, and did not daub with untempered mortar. He convinced me more, that we can preach the gospel of Christ no further than we have experienced the power of it in our hearts. Hypocrites must either soon be converted or enraged at his preaching. He is a 'son of thunder,' and does not regard the face of man. He is deeply sensible of the deadness and formality of the Christian Church in these parts, and has given noble testimonies against it." It has been remarked by an eminent divine that "higher testimony and from higher authority could not be given upon earth, and that it is doubtful whether Mr. Whitefield had ever expressed so high an opinion of any other preacher of any denomination."

In 1744 Mr. Gilbert Tennent established a new Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, chiefly composed of those who were denominated the converts and followers of Mr. Whitefield. Dr. S. Miller says: "He was a bold, ardent, practical, and unusually impressive preacher. He died in 1764, in the sixty-second year of his age." †

One of the most distinguished men educated at the "Log College" was the Rev. Samuel Blair, a native of Ireland, who was among the first pupils of this institution. After finishing his classical and theological studies, he put himself under the care of the Newcastle Presbytery, by which he was licensed to preach the gospel. Soon after, he was settled in the Presbyterian congregation at Shrewsbury, N. J., where he labored for five or six years. In 1739 he received an earnest call from a Presbyterian congregation of Scotch-Irish settlers in New Londonderry, otherwise called Fagg's Manor, in Chester County, Pa. When he received this call he left it to the Presbytery to

* Alexander's "Log College," 43. † Miller's "Life of Rodgers."

decide whether he should go or stay. He was advised to accept, and went. He was installed as the pastor of this congregation in 1740. Shortly after, he established at this place a classical school of the character of that before instituted at Neshaminy by Mr. William Tennent, Sr., where he received his education. His school had particular reference to the study of theology as a science. He was esteemed one of the most able, learned, pious, excellent, and venerable men of his day; was a profound divine, and a most solemn and impressive preacher. To his pupils he was himself an excellent model of pulpit eloquence. In his life he gave them an admirable example of Christian meekness, of ministerial diligence, of candor and catholicism, without a dereliction of principle. He was eminently serviceable in the part of the country where he lived, not only as a minister of the gospel but as a teacher of human knowledge. From his academy, the 'school of the prophets,' as it was frequently called, there came forth many distinguished pupils who did honor to their instructor, both as scholars and Christian ministers.* Under his ministry at New Londonderry there occurred a remarkable revival of religion. "As a preacher there was a solemnity in his very appearance which struck his hearers with awe before he opened his mouth. He spoke as in view of eternity, as in the immediate presence of God." The opinion entertained by the eloquent and pious Mr. Davies of Mr. Blair as a preacher was given to Mr. Davies's friends, who, on his return from Europe were curious to know his opinion of the celebrated ministers whom he had heard in England and Scotland. After dealing out liberal commendations on such as he had most admired, he concluded by saying that he had heard no one who, in his judgment, was superior to his former teacher, Rev. Samuel Blair.† Very great assemblies would ordinarily meet to hear Mr. Blair on any day of the week, and oftentimes a surprising power accompanied his preaching and was visible among the multitude of hearers. Mr. Blair, in a communication to a friend, speaking of his congregation, says: "Except in some singular instances of behavior, which, alas! proceed from and show

* Miller's "Retr.," 2, 343. Ency. Rel. Knowledge.

† Miller's "Life of Dr. Rodgers."

the sad remains of original corruption even in the regenerate children of God while in this imperfect state, their walk is habitually tender and conscientious, their carriage toward their neighbors just and kind, and they appear to have an agreeable, peculiar love one for another and for all in whom appears the image of God." *

Among the students at Mr. Blair's academy was Rev. Samuel Davies, born in the county of Newcastle, State of Delaware, in 1721. He received the greater part of his academic and theological education under the teaching of Rev. Samuel Blair, and was licensed to preach in 1745. He was eminent for eloquence, piety, and learning, and acquired a reputation so well known for genius and taste that it is not deemed necessary to dwell on them here. Having settled as pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in Virginia shortly after he was licensed, where he remained for some years, admired, respected, and useful, in 1759 he was elected President of Princeton College, in which situation he remained but eighteen months, being removed by death in 1761, in the thirty-seventh year of his age.

Rev. John Rodgers, who was born in Boston of Irish parents, at the age of sixteen entered the academy under the care of Rev. Samuel Blair, where he pursued his classical and theological education, and finished his theological studies under the direction of Rev. Gilbert Tennent in Philadelphia. In 1747 he was licensed by the Presbytery of Newcastle, and gave in his public ministrations, as well as in his exemplary private deportment, indications of the future excellence and usefulness for which he was happily distinguished.

As associates of Davies and Rodgers at Blair's academy were Mr. Alexander Cumming, one of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church in New York who held a high place among the ministers of the day; also Messrs. Robert Smith, James Finley, Hugh Henry, and a number of others who became distinguished in the ministry.† The health of Rev. Samuel Blair gave way under the labors of his ministry and school, and death removed him from both in 1751, at the age of thirty-nine.

* "Log College," 183. † Miller's "Life of Rodgers."

Rev. John Blair, the brother of Samuel, was also an alumnus of the "Log College," where he received his education, and as a theologian was not inferior to any man in the Presbyterian Church in his day. He was ordained in the pastoral charge of three congregations in the Kittochtinny Valley, west of the Susquehanna, as early as 1742, before Cumberland County was erected, and when the district was a part of Lancaster County. His pastoral charge embraced the "Big Spring" congregation (now Newville) and some other congregations in the new settlement. But as the incursions of the Indians, after Braddock's defeat, dispersed the inhabitants, Mr. Blair retreated to the eastern part of the colony. In 1757 he accepted a call from Fagg's Manor, which had been formed under the ministry of his favored brother Samuel. For about nine years Mr. Blair discharged the duties of his ministry and conducted a flourishing grammar school at this place, where he prepared many young men for the ministry. He was afterwards chosen Vice President of Princeton College and Professor of Divinity, which places he filled with great ability, fidelity, and reputation. He died in 1771, in the fifty-second year of his age.

One of the most eminent men in the province of Pennsylvania in its early history was Dr. Samuel Finley, President of Princeton College. He was born in Ireland, where he received part of his classical education, and arrived in the province in 1734. It is believed that he finished his education at the "Log College," as there was then no other institution in the Presbyterian Church where young men were prepared for the ministry, and he was under the care of the New Brunswick Presbytery, most of whose members were educated in that school. He was licensed in 1740. After he was ordained evangelist, for some years he visited various parts of the country where the inhabitants were most destitute of religious instruction; and it was said that much success attended these itinerant labors of this pious and talented minister. That Dr. Finley was an accomplished scholar and skillful teacher was universally admitted. In 1744 he accepted a call from Nottingham, in Chester County, adjacent to Maryland, having a congregation of settlers resident in both provinces. In this place he instituted an academy with the view chiefly of preparing young men for the ministry. This school was conducted with admirable wisdom and success,

and acquired a higher reputation than any other in the middle colonies, so that students from a great distance were attracted to it. Some of the most distinguished men in our country laid the foundation of their education, eminence, and usefulness in this academy. Among them were Gov. Martin, of North Carolina; Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia; his brother, Judge Rush; Ebenezer Hazard, Esq.; Rev. James Waddel, D.D., the eloquent and blind preacher of great celebrity in Virginia; Dr. McWhorter, of New Jersey; Col. John Bayard and Gov. Henry, of Maryland. There were no better classical scholars formed anywhere in this country than in this school. The method of instruction in the Latin and Greek languages was thorough and complete. The temper of Dr. Finley was remarkably benignant and sweet, and his manners affable and polite. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was bestowed on him by the University of Glasgow, which seems to have been the first instance of any Presbyterian minister in America receiving that honorary distinction. In 1761 he was elected President of Princeton College, and entered on the duties of that station, in which he was distinguished for wisdom and efficiency. He died in 1766, in the fifty-first year of his age.* "Dr. Finley was a man of sound and vigorous mind, of extensive learning, and of unusually fervent piety. Seldom has a life been more exemplary or more useful." †

In the early history of Pennsylvania there was no man of more eminence and usefulness and more worthy of historical notice than Francis Allison, D.D. He was born in Ireland, and, after an early classical education at an academy, completed his studies at the University of Glasgow. In 1735 he came to America, and was appointed pastor of a Presbyterian congregation at New London, Chester County, Pa. About 1751 his solicitude for the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and his desire for engaging and preparing young men for the ministry and of promoting public usefulness and learning, induced him to open at New London a public school. There was at the time a great want of learning in the middle colonies, and he generally instructed *without fee or reward* all who came to him.

* Dr. Alexander's "Log College," 204.

† Dr. Miller's "Life of Rodgers," 57.

The Synod of Philadelphia assumed the patronage and supervision of this school, and allowed Mr. Allison a salary of £20 a year, and his usher £15, and called on their congregations to contribute, for a time, to the support of the school. In 1747 Mr. Allison, by solicitation, took charge of the academy in Philadelphia, and in 1755 was elected Vice Provost and Professor of Moral Philosophy in the college which had just been established. He was then also minister of the First Presbyterian Church. Besides an unusually accurate and profound acquaintance with the Latin and Greek classics, he was well informed in moral philosophy, history, and general literature. To his zeal for the diffusion of knowledge Pennsylvania owes much of that taste for solid learning and classical literature for which many of her principal characters have been distinguished. The private virtues of Dr. Allison won him the esteem of all who knew him, and his public usefulness has erected a lasting monument to his praise. In his public services he was plain, practical, and argumentative, warm, animated, and pathetic. He was frank and generous in his natural temper, warm and zealous in his friendships, catholic in his sentiments, and the friend of civil and religious liberty, abhorring the intolerant spirit of persecution, bigotry, and superstition, together with all the arts of dishonesty and deceit. His humanity and compassion led him to spare no pains or trouble in relieving and assisting the poor and distressed, by his advice and influence or by his own private liberality. His friend and successor, Rev. Dr. Ewing, said of him that he was "one of the brightest luminaries that ever shone on this Western world;" and the venerable Dr. Alexander has given his opinion that "Dr. Allison was one of the most accomplished scholars who had adorned the Presbyterian Church in the United States." He continued in the discharge of his laborious duties until his death, in 1777, aged seventy-two years.*

There was an extensive settlement made by Scotch-Irish immigrants about 1720 on the Pequea and its tributaries in the county of Lancaster. Rev. Adam Boyd was commissioned to collect a congregation at that place, which he did, probably about the time he was settled as pastor over Upper Octorora,

* Enc. Ret., Miller's "Rel.," Alexander's "Log College."

which was in 1724. The congregation at Pequea was for years under the pastoral care of Rev. A. Craighead and his successor, Rev. D. Alexander, until 1750, when Rev. Robert Smith, D.D., was installed. He labored faithfully not only as the pastor of this congregation, but gave a portion of his time and labor to the congregation at the "Run," after and now known as the Cedar Grove Presbyterian Church. Dr. Smith was not only a faithful pastor, but one of talents, learning, and piety. Having received his education at the Log College, like many others educated there, he directed his talents and attainments to the instruction of others. He established at Pequea a classical and theological institution of a high character about a half mile from the church. At this school, amongst many others of usefulness, were educated the three sons of Dr. Robert Smith. Here was laid the foundation of the eminence of his son, Rev. Samuel S. Smith, D.D., President of Hampden Sidney College, in Virginia, and afterwards President of Princeton College, where he presided for eighteen years with great ability, being eminent as a scholar, author, and for pulpit eloquence. At Pequea was also born Dr. Smith's second son, Rev. John Blair Smith, who received there his education and succeeded his brother as President of Hampden Sidney and afterwards the first President of Union College, in Schenectady. He was an eloquent, evangelical, and successful minister. At the same place was born and educated Rev. William Smith, the third son, who was a pious and judicious minister, and, though less distinguished than either of his other brothers, in the opinion of his good father "to comfort and edify the plain Christian he was equal to either of them." * Dr. Robert Smith, after a life of labor and great usefulness at Pequea for forty-two years, died at the age of seventy. The labors of such a pastor and instructor for such a period must have been blessed to the conversion and edification of many of the community where he labored.

Rev. Patrick Allison, D.D., was born in Lancaster County in 1740, and received his education in the College of Philadelphia, and was installed pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Baltimore in 1762, where he remained honored and useful until

* "Log College," by Alexander, 200.

his death, in 1802, in the sixty-second year of his age. Dr. Allison held a place in the very first rank of American clergy. He shone with distinguished luster in the judicatories of the Church. For the perspicuity, correctness, sound reasoning, and masculine eloquence of his speeches in ecclesiastical assemblies he was long admired and had scarcely an equal." *

To the extended list of eminent men of Irish origin or descent already presented distinguished for usefulness in the province of Pennsylvania in its early history might be added that of Rev. Charles Beaty, a native of Ireland, who had received there a good classical education which he extended and finished at the Log College, and, being licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, was settled as pastor of the Church at Neshaminy left vacant by the death of the venerable founder of the Log College. Rev. Mr. Beaty was engaged much in missionary labors about 1745, visiting destitute Presbyterian settlements. Dr. Alexander says that he was an able, evangelical preacher, and was much esteemed for his private virtues and public labors. He was distinguished for public spirit and popular address. He died on the island of Barbadoes, where he was taken sick in collecting funds for the aid of the college at Princeton in 1772.

Rev. John Ewing, pastor of the first Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia in 1759, graduated in the College of New Jersey, and was elected Provost of the University of Pennsylvania in 1779, and died in 1802, in the seventy-first year of his age. Dr. Miller said that "the eminent character of this gentleman, the vigor of his talents, the extent of his learning, his extraordinary accomplishments at the head of a literary institution, and his excellence as a preacher are well known."

To appreciate the value of the labors and usefulness of the learned public benefactors referred to it is necessary to have in view the times and circumstances under which they appeared and in which they were actors. The province of Pennsylvania was in its infancy; with a government simple, experimental, and inefficient for the maintenance of its laws; with an extensive territory, nine-tenths of which was a wilderness; whose population was made up of immigrants from different countries; with

* Miller's "Life of Rodgers," 179.

finances inadequate to the purposes of government; and with its proprietary, who was the owner of the soil, possessing great control in the government, yet during a greater part of the time residing in England. At such time this province was blessed in having within its borders the eminent men of whose lives a sketch has been given. Classical and scientific education were not provided for in any institution by government, or by any associations contributing funds to its support.* It was left to individual enterprise to supply the destitution, and at this crisis William Tennent, Sr., was the individual, under Providence, first to apply his talents and acquirements to the experiment of establishing a school under his care for the classical, scientific, and religious education of young men. Though his undertaking was ridiculed, as presumptuous and visionary, yet as narrated it was eminently successful. That success is fully attested by the brief history of the men educated in that school, who for learning, eloquence, piety, and usefulness were not surpassed in their day by the educated men of this or any other country. The influence of the Log College institution and of the kindred ones established and maintained by some of its pupils in elevating and extending education, sanctified by the teachings of the Bible, with its precepts of the law and gospel, was incalculable for the best interests of the province. A warm and earnest Christianity was the animating spirit of these humble seminaries, which was infused into most of the pupils and made them the instruments of religious and moral instruction to others.

During the first half of the last century, where were there in office or station under government men whose services or usefulness to the community were to be compared with that of the founders of the schools referred to? There were politicians and officeholders who were more conspicuous, whose power and patronage commanded influence and attention, yet much

*At the beginning of the eighteenth century colleges in the colonies did receive but little patronage from England, and were dependent on the labors, enterprise, and literary and benevolent efforts of a few individuals. In England many said: "Let the colonists attend to the production of the earth, and look to England for learning and learned men." When pressed on the subject of religion in the colony one of the lords of trade implicated a curse upon their souls, and said: "Let them make tobacco." (Foote's "Virginia," 151.)

of their time was passed in the routine of prescribed, subordinate official duties, or in intrigue to maintain and advance their power and interests. The best and most prominent of the men in the provincial government were then in a great measure engrossed with frivolous controversies between different departments of the government, about the legitimate exercise of their respective powers, and to the neglect and prejudice of the public interests. The men who signalized themselves at this period by their acts of public usefulness were the founders and conductors of the institutions for education described. They were men of learning, piety, and great purity of character, who appreciated education and deplored the want of suitable institutions for it as required by a rapidly increasing and destitute community. They were poor Presbyterian ministers of Scotch-Irish nativity or descent. Having neither silver nor gold to give, in founding institutions for the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of the people, they gave what they had: their time, labor, talents, and learning. They planted and watered, and under God their work prospered; the fruits of which were gathered and enjoyed not only in their own day but by generations then unborn.

Extensive settlements by respectable emigrants from Ireland and Scotland were made in other parts of Lancaster County than those already enumerated. They had their ministers of the gospel and their schools, but not of the eminence of those described. The settlement in the district, which we presume received its name of Donegal from the origin and choice of the settlers, was extensive, embracing a large district of fertile and choice lands. As early as 1726 this settlement had progressed so far in improvement and organization as to have Rev. James Anderson, from Ireland, as their pastor, the Church being called New Donegal. In 1732 the increase in the number of Presbyterian congregations induced the formation of another Presbytery in Pennsylvania, which was called the Donegal Presbytery. Its jurisdiction embraced the frontier settlements, and though its boundaries became, in the progress and increase of population and the Church, reduced, it still exists under its ancient name. From the township of Donegal many respectable settlers sought to improve their circumstances by removing

into the Kittochtinny Valley, west of the Susquehanna, and some made their homes in the southern colonies in the same extended valley, which made Donegal a place of note in the distant south.

In the "History of York County" by Messrs. Carter & Glossbrenner it is stated that "About the years 1734-36 families from Ireland and Scotland settled in the southern part of the county of York (then Lancaster County) and what is known as the 'York Barrens.' They consisted of the better order of peasantry; were a sober, industrious, moral, and intelligent people; and were, for the most part, rigid Presbyterians. Their manners partook of that simplicity, kindness, and hospitality characteristic of the class to which they belonged in their native countries. The descendants of these people still retain the lands which their respectable progenitors selected; and we are happy to add that the present inhabitants, with the lands, inherited the sobriety, industry, intelligence, morality, and hospitable kindness of their predecessors." This is the testimony of impartial compilers of history to the character of the early Irish and Scotch settlers, who with their descendants have occupied for more than a century a large portion of the county of York. Soon after the original settlement they erected a church near Muddy Creek, which, with the neighboring settlements of Presbyterians, was supplied by an approved ministry of the gospel and its ordinances. To these settlements in the "Barrens" the seminary and classical school of Dr. Finley at Nottingham was so convenient of access that young men desirous of classical and scientific education would be able to attain it there without inconvenience. That attention was given to education in these settlements is attested by the eminence of some of its sons. From this Scotch-Irish district of sterile soil came Hon. James Smith, a native of Ireland, who as a youth in the family of his father settled there. He received his education under the immediate care of the celebrated Dr. Allison at Philadelphia. Mr. Smith was one of the most distinguished lawyers of Pennsylvania, enjoying an extensive and lucrative practice in York and other counties. He was a prominent member of the Revolutionary Congress, and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, as well as an active and efficient

member of many important committees appointed by Congress. He commanded, as colonel, a regiment in the revolutionary army, and was a practicing lawyer for about sixty years. He died in 1806, at the age of ninety-three, in the borough of York. From the same district emanated Judge Hugh H. Breckenridge, well known for his classical attainments, his legal learning, and his ability as a judge of the Supreme Court of the State; also about the same time Hon. James Ross, of Pittsburg, distinguished and eminent as a lawyer and statesman who at the bar as a lawyer and advocate or as a statesman in the United States had no superior; also Hon. John Rowan, who represented the State of Kentucky in the United States Senate. These men were of the Scotch-Irish race, reared and educated in the province of Pennsylvania, adorning the profession of the law, in which they were engaged, and an honor to their progenitors as well as to the State.

Pennsylvania furnished in its early history, from Scotch-Irish families, men educated in the schools of Dr. Finley, Dr. Allison, and others, distinguished not only in the ministry but as lawyers, jurists, and statesmen and for their literary and scientific attainments.

Thomas McKean was born in Chester County in 1734, his father being a native of Ireland. He acquired an accurate knowledge of the languages, of the practical branches of mathematics, rhetoric, logic, and moral philosophy under the tuition and direction of Dr. Francis Allison, preparatory to the study of law. His subsequent celebrity and reputation are so well known to the American people as to require no detail. A summary here is sufficient. He was an eminent lawyer and a member of the Revolutionary Congress from its opening in 1774 until the peace of 1783, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, President of Congress for a time, Chief Justice of the State of Pennsylvania, and Governor of the State for the constitutional period.

Hugh Williamson, of Scotch descent, was born in Chester County in 1735, and received his education at the College of Philadelphia, under the direction of Dr. Allison, where he graduated in 1757. He was a man of great scientific acquirements, eminent for talents as well as learning. Before the revolution

he removed from Pennsylvania to North Carolina, which State he represented in Congress for several terms with ability, and was a delegate to the convention that framed the Federal constitution, of which he was a decided advocate. His "History of North Carolina," in three volumes, attests his erudition, ability, and research.

David Ramsay, the American historian, was born in Lancaster County in 1749. He was the son of James Ramsay, a respectable farmer, who had emigrated from Ireland and who, by the cultivation of his farm, provided for the subsistence and education of his family. His son David received his early education in a common school and in one of the academies of the country, and finished in Princeton College, where he graduated in 1765. Dr. Ramsay studied medicine at Philadelphia, where he graduated with great distinction, and was distinguished for abilities and literary attainments. Dr. Rush, who was intimate with him; said: "His talents and knowledge are universal, his manners polished and agreeable, and his behavior to all men always without offense; joined to all these, he is sound in his principles, strict—nay, more, severe—in his morals and attached not by education only but by principle to the dissenting interest." The predominant traits in his character were philanthropy and piety, which influenced all his actions. He was the zealous advocate of American independence, and attended the army in the capacity of surgeon. Having removed to South Carolina, he represented that State in the Revolutionary Congress, and during the absence of John Hancock, President, presided for a year with ability, industry, and impartiality. His historical works and other productions form part of the permanent literature of our country.

Robert Fulton, the successful applier of steam to navigation, was born in Little Britain, Lancaster County, in 1765, of respectable Irish parents, who removed to Lancaster borough, where he received a good English education. His attainments and inventions bespeak the high superiority of his talents.

There was also a Scotch-Irish settlement at an early day at Paxton, in the neighborhood of where Harrisburg is, county of Dauphin. This district was one of some notoriety, as near the frontier, where a ferry was established and maintained by Mr.

Harris for crossing the Susquehanna, a great public accommodation, as well as being on the great road from Eastern Pennsylvania, through the Kittochtinny Valley to Virginia, and the more southern provinces. Traders as well as Indians met there for traffic and conference. It acquired also an ignominious notoriety for the massacre of the Conestoga Indians, perpetrated by a few of its violent men. This deed was a barbarous one, and indefensible. Yet it has been greatly exaggerated, without reference to the circumstances that existed to extenuate it. We shall take occasion to notice it more fully before we terminate this vindication.

About 1737 emigrants from the North of Ireland and Scotland settled in the northwestern part of York County, on the waters of Tom's and Marsh Creeks (now Adams County). They were the first settlers in that district, which was separated from the Kittochtinny Valley on the west by a range of mountains about ten miles in width. These settlers were a highly respectable community, moral, energetic, industrious, and intelligent; of frugal and plain habits, but kind, friendly, and hospitable. In their religious organization they were Presbyterian, and as early as 1740 missionary supplies were provided for them by the Presbytery of Donegal. It would appear that they had settled on some of the choice lands on the water courses referred to. Actual settlers had been invited and encouraged by agents of the proprietary to make permanent settlements on the lands in Pennsylvania open to appropriation. Though this form of title was at first objected to by some of the proprietary agents, unless followed by an official grant, yet it soon became prevalent and was recognized and established as of validity with the Land Office grants, and yielded only to priority. Many of the settlers on Marsh Creek had made their settlements on lands that had been surveyed or set apart for a proprietary manor. These manors were reserved from sale or grant, in the ordinary forms. As the lands were wild, unimproved, and were the property of the proprietary, remote from the settlements on the frontier, the settlers might readily suppose that, like all the other lands not appropriated by settlers, they were open to settlement. This mistake of the settlers was the occasion of unpleasant difficulty and controversy between them and some of the proprietary officers.

Mr. Peters, as secretary of the proprietary, with some assistants, in 1743 went into this settlement to survey the manor lines, which would include the settlements and improvements of a number who for years had been expending their money, time, and labor in clearing and improving their supposed homesteads. The settlers in considerable numbers forbade the proprietary agents to proceed with the survey, and on their persisting broke the surveyor's chain, and compelled the party to retire. The settlers were prosecuted, but submitted and accepted leases for a time, and purchased the lands before the leases expired, to the satisfaction of the parties interested. This resistance of the proprietary agents was deemed by them a great indignity and public offense, and the settlers implicated were reproached as "lawless" by the proprietary officers and the opponents of the Irish in the province.

As these settlers had been for years in the actual and peaceable possession of the lands they occupied, which were enhanced much in value by their labors, they had the legal right by the common law to retain their possession and defend that possession until they were ejected by a superior title, under the judgment of a proper court and by due course of law. The resistance of these settlers was not of the officers of the law or its authorities. The rights of the proprietaries, in regard to their lands, were like those of any other individual or vender, and were to be construed according to their contracts, express or implied. The proprietary was not the government; their agents were not public magistrates, and were liable to mistakes, and could and often did commit wrongs which were redressed by their superiors. The resistance on this occasion was not a "public offense" if it only restrained the proprietary agents from disturbing the peaceable possession of the settlers until it should be adjudged by a competent court that they were to be removed. It was no other wrong than is committed every day by men who are in possession of real estate by what they suppose a sufficient title, and who refuse to surrender that possession on the demand of a claimant until there is an investigation of that title by the tribunal of the law. These Marsh Creek settlers, as soon as they understood their legal relation to the proprietary, and before any trial, acquiesced, and became tenants

and purchasers to the satisfaction of the proprietary claimants. They were not from principle or habit inured to passive obedience irrespective of legal rights and authority, but as soon as the law was made manifest they were obedient to its requisitions. Though the opponents of the Irish race in the province of Pennsylvania were disposed to make much of this "Marsh Creek resistance" to the prejudice of the Scotch-Irish early settlers as evidence of their turbulent and lawless spirit, it was because they had little to complain of in a class of citizens who took care to understand their rights, civil, religious, and political, and to maintain them as well as respect the rights of others.

The inhabitants of this part of the province increased in numbers and resources and extended their improvements and the cultivation of their lands. Several large Presbyterian congregations were organized and maintained within their bounds, and, as was done by their kindred in other places, the schoolhouse building soon followed the erection of their own habitations, and the schoolmaster was abroad in their midst, and the minister of the gospel was to them a watchman and shepherd as well as their instructor.

Upon these settlers and their families was devolved the perilous duty of defending the whole settlement from the Indian incursions and ravages in the wars which followed Braddock's defeat in 1755. The massacre and dispersion of the inhabitants of the Kittochtinny Valley during those wars made Marsh Creek settlement a frontier, and as the Indians crossed the Kittochtinny Valley and its mountains they massacred, as well as carried off captive, many of its inhabitants.

The hardy settlers of this district were necessarily called out to defend their families and habitations against the incursions of savage and cruel enemies, who spared neither age nor sex. These settlers organized themselves into military companies, and in concert with the inhabitants of the Kittochtinny Valley pursued the Indians in their retreats to their hiding places in the western mountains, whilst some of them formed a part of that gallant, brave, rintepid, and successful expedition under the command of Col. Armstrong which attacked and captured the Indian fort and town of Kittaning, on the Allegheny River, in 1756.

The men who had resisted the proprietary agents that came to survey their lands on a claim for the proprietary periled their lives in a distant campaign across the mountains to attack the Indians and their French allies and defend the lands and province of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania against the invasions and devastation of the enemy, whilst the agents and favorites of the same proprietary, with few exceptions, took care to keep themselves at a safe distance from the enemy and dangers. These resolute settlers held on to their lands as a permanent abode for their families, and when the war of the revolution broke out all of them having the ability to bear arms responded with alacrity to the calls of their country, in defense of American liberty and independence. More willing or brave hearts and higher patriotic feeling were not to be found in the colonies.

After the close of the revolutionary war some of the descendants of these Irish settlers sought homes in Western Pennsylvania, and after the lapse of some more years others emigrated farther west, where they became prominent, respectable, and influential citizens of Western States.

Many of the descendants of this race remained on the farms or in the neighborhood where their ancestors had resided. Some cultivate the same farms and worship on the same hill or near the same spring where those ancestors more than a century since were accustomed to assemble with their families for worship with their Presbyterian brethren according to their approved forms and in the maintenance of venerated creeds.

These descendants who dwell in the neighborhood of those early settlements form an intelligent, religious, and moral community of law-abiding and conservative habits; many of whom have enjoyed and still possess political and social distinction, and are respected for enterprise, intelligence, and public usefulness.

CHAPTER III.

The Attractions of the Kittochtinny Valley to Settlers—Who They Were—Improvement and Progress—Religious and Moral Character of Population—Church Organizations—Frontier—Peaceable Intercourse with Indians Until after Braddock's Defeat—Exposure to Indian Massacre and Devastation—Neglected by Government—Harassed by Indian Wars—Dispersion of Inhabitants—Murder of Conestoga Indians in Lancaster County—Indian Traders Attacked—Murder of Indians by Frederick Stump in Sherman's Valley—His Rescue and Escape—Return of Inhabitants to the Kittochtinny Valley in 1765—Their Progress, Increase, and Occupation.

THERE was no district of country in the province of Pennsylvania that had more to recommend it to the early settlers for agricultural purposes than the valley of the Susquehanna opposite Harris's Ferry. It was known by its Indian name of the Kittochtinny Valley from the extensive mountain range, its western boundary, called the "Kittochtinny," signifying "endless mountains," extending through several of the Atlantic provinces. The Indian name of Kittochtinny was, by the white population, softened by dropping some of its consonants, and in general acceptance by them after some time called Kit-tatinny, which it retained, until supplanted by Cumberland, the name of the county. It is to be regretted that it had not been allowed to retain its appropriate Indian name of Kittochtinny. That part of the valley west of the Susquehanna embraced what now constitutes the county of Cumberland and almost all of the county of Franklin. For fertility of soil, abundance of copious springs, clear, running streams, variety of forest timber, luxuriance of vegetation, and salubrity of climate, presenting as a boundary on two sides mountain ranges with a wide valley made up of hills, plains, and dales, it was not surpassed by any of the American colonies. Attractive as it was, its settlement was retarded from being a frontier remote from the eastern settlements, the Indian claim to which was not purchased by the proprietary of Pennsylvania until October, 1736. A great part of it was in controversy with the proprietary of Maryland, who claimed the same as belonging to that province.

To assert and maintain the claim and jurisdiction of Pennsylvania to this valley west of the Susquehanna some resolute and

enterprising citizens were induced by the proprietary agents of Pennsylvania to make settlements in this district, under Pennsylvania authority, which was done in a few instances as early as 1730-31, and was continued until January, 1734, when a commission was issued to Samuel Blunston from the proprietary of Pennsylvania authorizing him to grant licenses in writing to settle lands west of the Susquehanna. They were an inception of title to much of the most desirable lands in the valley, extending from the Susquehanna to near the Potomac. With those settlements under Pennsylvania authority the Indians were satisfied, as they had been with those before made west of Wright's Ferry near York. Their tendency was to restrain encroachments under Maryland authority. The proprietary of Pennsylvania acknowledged the Indian claim, and for some time had been negotiating with them for a cession of it, delay of which was occasioned by the retirement of some of the Five Nations to the Western rivers or lakes.

That cession being obtained in 1736, and the Maryland controversy being at the same time suspended by agreement of the proprietaries of the two provinces, the Land Office of Pennsylvania was opened in January, 1737, for the sale and appropriation of lands *west* of the Susquehanna on the usual terms. The application for warrants and the influx of settlers were now great into this valley.

The settlers who occupied this part of the Kittochtinny Valley under the license system were from Ireland and Scotland. They were men of energy, enterprise, industry, and intelligence; substantial farmers, with capital and resources for improving and extending their farms. Their origin, character, and the attractions of the country induced the immigrants of the same nationalities to flock to this district of country. Some of these had been resident for a time in the eastern part of the province, and sought now to obtain a permanent home in the Kittochtinny Valley.

Though the frontier of the province, it increased rapidly, and in 1750 had about one thousand taxables, its population being five or six thousand. Nine-tenths of the population were natives of Ireland or Scotland. There were a few respectable families of German Mennonites, settled east of where the town of Green-

castle is now located on the waters flowing into the Conococheague, and also on the head waters of the Antietam. There were also some Germans of substance and good character who had settled near the Grindstone Hill, south of where Chambersburg is situated, belonging to the German Reformed Church, and a settlement of emigrants from Wales on the Maryland boundary on a stream of water flowing into West Conococheague, which gave to this stream and the adjacent country the name of Welsh Run by which it is still known. There were some German families settled at an early day in the eastern part of the valley near the Susquehanna.

The taste of the early settlers of this valley was rural and the occupation looked to for their families was agricultural. They selected lands with a view to permanent residence and as the means of maintaining their families. The first dwelling house erected in the Conococheague Valley was at the mouth of the Falling Spring, of hewed logs and covered with a lapped shingle roof, secured by nails in the usual manner. Many of the dwelling houses of the first settlers were built of choice logs, hewed and well put together, two stories high and with several apartments above and below, and as early as 1744 stone dwelling houses of two stories were erected in different parts of the valley, some of which are still standing and are comfortable residences. The stranger who came to view the land was not regarded as an intruder; but if of fair character, was received with warm hearts and taken into hospitable families and information and aid given to him that would enable him to select lands that were eligible and open to appropriation. Good and convenient neighbors were more desirable than extended territory.

The settlers in their settlement were engaged in extending their improvements by buildings, clearing and inclosing lands for cultivation. They were characterized by enterprise and persevering industry, and were generally of steady habits, religious and moral character. The great mass of them in this valley, being of Irish or Scotch nativity, had as their standard of Church organization, government, and creed the Westminster Confession of Faith with the Catechisms received from the Westminster Assembly. That standard was one on which their ancestors and themselves had stood and maintained, in a for-

eign land of religious intolerance, and which in a land of religious liberty they were not disposed to depart from.

As the settlements progressed they were desirous of being supplied with a gospel ministry, and as early as 1734 the Presbytery of Donegal sent supplies or missionaries into this valley, which in their minutes is called the country "Over the River." As the settlement progressed under the "Blunston Licenses," congregations were organized in the years 1734, 1735, 1736, and 1737. Before 1740 there were not less than eight Presbyterian congregations organized in the valley, which had church buildings erected for public worship, and most of them supplied by pastors of their choice. The Presbyterian ministers of that day were nearly all of Irish nativity and education. They were good classical scholars as well as sound and learned theologians. Among the early ministry of this valley was Rev. John Blair, educated at the Log College, of whose life a very brief memoir is given. He was settled at the Great Spring as early as 1741, having the charge of that and some neighboring congregations.

Simultaneous with the organization of congregations by these settlers was the establishment of schoolhouses in every neighborhood. In these schools were taught little more than the rudiments of education, of which a part was generally obtained at home under parental instruction. Reading, writing, arithmetic, trigonometry, and practical geometry were the branches to which attention was given. The Bible was the standard daily reader for all classes able to read, and the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly was recited and heard by all in the school as a standard exercise on every Saturday morning.

The government of this extended community was in a great measure patriarchal. The father was the instructor and ruler of his household. Subordination to parents was the universal education and training, and obedience was the settled habit of the youth of the family. The great instrumentalities in the instruction of youth were home, the school, and the Church. Religion was the great principle on which was founded the early government of this people; the regulator of their families, their social and domestic habits. That religion was that of the Bible, the fear and love of God as the beginning of wisdom, and the keeping of his commandments as taught in the Scriptures as the

great duty of man. In a community without public magistrates and officers of the law in the neighborhood, influence and rule would be with the eldest and wisest of the people and by common consent would be extended over the morals and actions of individuals. Public safety, peace, and happiness required this exercise of control by public sentiment, and respect for it would be accorded.

In 1735, by the order and appointment of the court, the valley was divided into two townships by a line crossing the valley at the "Great Spring," now Newville; the eastern one called "Pennsborough," and the western one "Hopewell," and a justice of the peace and a constable appointed for each. In 1741 the township of Antrim was established, embracing the Conococheague settlement and what now constitutes the county of Franklin, with a justice of the peace and constable for it.

These conservators of the peace would be so few over this extended country as to afford but little aid to the maintenance of peace, order, and the authority of the laws. The great conservator and arbiter of right would be the well-regulated religious and moral sentiment of the community. The settlers were farmers, pursuing the even tenor of their way in improving and cultivating their farms, rearing and educating their children, and providing for their schools and churches. The people were obliged to be a law unto themselves. Having emigrated from a country where the common law was the standard of right and wrong in the relations of persons, it and its principles would be applied in the aid of moral law to the actions of individuals. The provincial government had its place of business, with its offices and officers, at Philadelphia; the only officers of this government seen by the settlers of this valley for many years after its first settlement were the deputy surveyors, to survey and return their lands. Whilst the local county government until 1750 was at Lancaster, a distance, to many of the inhabitants, of one hundred miles or more, the officers of this local government with whom the people of the valley had intercourse before that period were the assessors and collectors of the public taxes. The courts for the trial of criminals were so distant from a great part of the valley as to afford but little protection to the inhabitants.

Yet the settlement of this division of the Kittochtinny Valley was expanding, its improvements progressing, and the comfort and resources of the inhabitants rapidly increasing. This Scotch-Irish settlement was the most extensive of any in the province, having in it in 1748 about 800 taxables, dwelling in peace and in the offices of good neighborhood with one another. During his period of patriarchal government we do not learn from history or any public document that any outrage was perpetrated within its bounds by any riotous or unlawful assembly or any high crimes committed against the laws.

Predominant as was the Scotch-Irish element in this settlement with its numerous Presbyterian congregations in every part of it, yet it was not intolerant, or a persecutor of the small Mennonite and German Reformed societies that were in its midst, or of any other denomination that was inclined to make its abode in the valley. They lived in harmony with all as Christian brethren, interchanging the offices of good and obliging neighbors. The population of this valley had for their southern boundary the province of Maryland, with which the vexed question of the actual location of that boundary before 1739 was unsettled. In 1735-36 the conflict between the inhabitants of the two provinces in the eastern part of the county of Lancaster was harassing; attended with riot, breaches of the peace, bloodshed, and alleged murder, where the settlers belonged to different classes of immigrants; yet in the Kittochtinny Valley, with settlers living near and adjacent to the place where the temporary and permanent boundary lines were surveyed, there was no strife amongst them about their respective possessions, which all were allowed peaceably to hold until the proper provincial jurisdiction was established, which was done first in 1739 by the temporary line which in the valley was only half a mile north of the permanent line established by Mason and Dixon's survey in 1767. The western boundary of the same valley was the Kittochtinny Mountains of seventy miles in extent, being the frontier of the province and the Indian claim extending from that boundary to the Far West. The inhabitants of the valley had for their neighbors on the frontier the Indian tribes of the West. Though most of the Indian nations had retired to the Western waters, on the ad-

vance of the white settlements, yet they occasionally, or parts of them, visited the white settlements for traffic, conference, or to meet other tribes. There was intercourse between them and the inhabitants of the valley. From the first settlement in this valley until the Indians became, with their French allies, the public enemy of the English and of the inhabitants of their colonies the life of an Indian was not taken or the blood of any shed, nor were the Indians deprived of their property by the inhabitants of this part of the Kittochtinny Valley. History or the public documents furnish no record of any such wrong; and had there been any such, it would have been made known by the Indians or by the agents of the provincial government who visited them. The Indians and the inhabitants of this valley, many of whom resided at the base of the Kittochtinny Mountains, did maintain an intercourse in peace and without strife until 1753, when a hostile spirit was first manifested under the influence and instigation of the French. Several of the inhabitants of this valley were carried into captivity by the Indians in 1752 and 1753. They were subjected to great hardships by a confinement for a time at Quebec, and afterwards in France, where their release was procured by the English Ambassador. On their return to Pennsylvania the Assembly made provision for their restoration to their homes in the valley. ("Acts of Assembly," Volume 4.)

In September, 1754, a conference was had with the Indians at the residence of George Croghan, the Indian agent at Aughwick. Notwithstanding Mr. Weiser, as the agent of the government, was there to secure their friendly relations, aided by liberal donations of money; yet within a few days after an Indian killed Joseph Campble, a white man, on the Conococheague, near Parnel's Knob, without any known provocation, and made his escape. We have not seen any evidence, documentary or other, that the inhabitants of this valley were incensed by these repeated outrages of the Indians at a time of professed peace to commit against them any acts of revenge in retaliation for the atrocious wrongs recited and treacherously perpetrated by the Indians on the white inhabitants of this valley. In this forbearance the Scotch-Irish race exhibited a spirit far from being "pugnacious," or that they "hated the In-

dians," but that there "were sentiments of honor or magnanimity in their bosoms that could restrain resentment."

The success and prosperity of this community in prosecuting the improvements of their farms, dwelling together in peace, maintaining their social and religious associations, with but the shadow of a public government, is evidence how little government is required for an agricultural people of religious, moral, and industrious habits, content with their occupation. This community, left to their own government, will, we think, for their good habits bear a comparison with any other population or any other settlement of the American colonies, or with any settlements of the lands of the United States to the same extent.

For fifteen years and more they lived with the place of their county offices and sessions of their courts at a distance from them of fifty to one hundred miles; and when they petitioned the Legislature for the organization of the county of Cumberland in 1749 they "represented the great hardships they lay under by being so remote from Lancaster, where the courts were held and the public offices kept, and how hard and difficult it was for the 'sober and quiet part' of the people to secure themselves against thefts and other abuses, frequently committed by idle and dissolute persons, who to escape punishment resort to the more remote parts of the province, and, owing to the great distance from the court or prison, frequently escape." The obvious necessity for the relief desired induced an immediate organization of the county of Cumberland in 1750.

For some time before, this part of the Kittochtinny Valley was called by the whites the "North Valley," to distinguish it, we believe, from the extension of the same valley in Virginia, south of the Potomac River. After the organization of Cumberland County it very generally received the name of the "Cumberland Valley," taking its name from the county, of which it was a small part. The Indians, however, long after, in their allusions to it and the mountain range west, retained their ancient name of "Kittochtinny."

The inhabitants of this valley were destined to experience the sad deficiency of their provincial government in the relations of war. The storm, indicated by the defeat of Braddock and the dastardly flight of his successor in command, Dunbar, was

viewed with terrible apprehension and danger by the inhabitants along the frontier. These apprehensions were made known in many memorials to the Assembly and Governor, signed by the mass of the people, imploring immediate measures of defense by the government for the protection of the settlements exposed. These supplications, acknowledged to be reasonable and demanding the attention of the government, were not met by legislation that had any efficiency for the relief of the alarmed inhabitants. The war was allowed to fall on the defenseless inhabitants of this valley and other settlements in all the horrors of savage cruelty. Families were surprised in their dwellings and every member murdered and scalped, their houses and buildings burned, and their cattle destroyed. The men organized themselves into companies with their own small supply of arms and ammunition to pursue the enemy, who were generally successful in their rapid retreat to the mountains and the wilderness. This barbarous warfare was continued for about seven or more years against the inhabitants of this valley, who were left in a great measure to their own resources and bravery for the defense of the country against these cruel and powerful enemies. The forts provided by the government in the Cumberland Valley at Carlisle, Shippensburg, and Loudon, garrisoned each with about seventy men, afforded little or no protection. Separated by great distances, the Indians in their incursions could readily avoid them, as they did, and find still a wide field for an inhuman war that was regardless of age, sex, or infancy. Even the royal government, after the defeat of Braddock in July, 1755, permitted three years and more to elapse, when in the autumn of 1758 another army, under Gen. Forbes, was marched into the enemy's country and took possession of Fort Du Quesne, abandoned by the French. So repeated were the massacres of the inhabitants of the Cumberland Valley for years that three-fourths of them, with their families, sought shelter and safety in the eastern parts of Lancaster and York Counties. The men often returned to occupy some dwellings that escaped the torch of the savage, and to coöperate with others to watch and resist the Indians, whose mode of warfare was secrecy and surprise, murder of the defenseless, and a hasty retreat. The number of white inhabitants in this valley slain,

scalped, or carried into captivity was great. The whole extended valley was made one of desolation and blood; every neighborhood had its victims. The Indian warriors estimated that in the first years of this war they killed fifty whites for one Indian that was killed, and in after years, when the white inhabitants better understood their warfare, they still killed ten whites for one of their nation killed by the white inhabitants. This great disproportion arose from the slaughter by the Indians of women and children, for whose *scalps* their French allies rewarded them liberally.

The distress of the inhabitants of the Cumberland Valley during these wars may be conceived better than described. Gordon, in his "History of Pennsylvania," page 383, says that "incessant anxiety pervaded every family; their slumbers were broken by the yell of demons or by the dread of an attack scarce less horrid than an actual attack. The ground was plowed, the seed sown, and the harvest gathered under the fear of the tomahawk and rifle. Scarcely any outdoor labor was safely executed unless protected by arms in the hands of the laborers or by regular troops. Women visiting their sick neighbors were shot or captured, children driving home cattle from the field were killed and scalped, whilst the enemy, dastardly as well as cruel, shrank from every equality of force. Many of the richest neighborhoods were deserted and property of every kind given up to the foe. Many instances of heroism were displayed by men, women, and children in defense of themselves and their homes, and in pursuing and combating the enemy there was certainly a great want of ability and energy in the constituted authorities and the government of the province. United councils and well-directed efforts might have driven the barbarians to their savage haunts, and repeated the chastisement they received at Kittanning, until they sued for peace. But imbecility distinguished the British ministers and officers and paralyzed the efforts of the provinces, especially that of Pennsylvania."

The complaints against the constituted authorities of the provincial government and supplications for defensive measures, were not confined to the Scotch-Irish inhabitants of the frontier. The frivolous and endless disputes between the Governor

and the Assembly in a time of war and distress incensed the patient Germans and overcame their constitutional "inaction. The inhabitants of the remote parts of Philadelphia County, chiefly Germans, to the number of four hundred, marched to the city unarmed, in a peaceable and orderly manner, to implore the protection of their rulers and the postponement of their unreasonable debates. They first waited upon the Governor, who accused the Assembly of procrastination, and that body did not fail to rebut the charge, whilst they promised their sturdy petitioners, who crowded their hall, that means for their protection and safety should be speedily adopted." *

The Indians were willing to avail themselves of the conciliatory policy of the public authorities, and meet the agents of the government in conference when invited; and in which assurances of peace, friendship, and fidelity were given by the chiefs, who returned to their homes liberally rewarded by presents, at the expense of the government. These pledges and assurances were regarded no longer than a time favorable to the renewing of their hostilities on the white inhabitants, who might be surprised in their peaceful occupations, and there barbarously murdered by their false and treacherous foes.

When the treaty of peace was made in November, 1762, between the French and English, and France surrendered its possession in the northern colonies to the English, with the assurances of friendship and peace received from the Indians, who were so fully represented at a conference with the public agents at Lancaster in September, 1762, it was supposed by all interested that the peace of the province was established on a basis not to be disturbed.

The inhabitants who had fled with their families to the eastern part of the province returned in the autumn of 1762 to the Kittochtinny and adjacent valleys to resume there the possession of their farms, laid waste by the savage enemy. In the Cumberland Valley the inhabitants, with their characteristic energy, applied themselves to rebuilding their dwellings, to procuring cattle, and cultivating their lands for a harvest expected to be gathered in safety. All was quiet on the frontiers, not a murmur nor threat from the Indians that indicated hostility was

* Gordon, 315.

heard by the public agents or by the inhabitants of this valley, who were comforting themselves on the enjoyment of a lasting peace. Sad disappointment was not far from them. "The unprotected state of the frontiers, consequent on the discharge of the forces of the middle and southern colonies, held forth irresistible temptation to the whetted appetite of the border savages for plunder. Their hostility had been rewarded rather than chastised by Pennsylvania; every treaty of peace was accompanied with rich presents, and their detention of the prisoners was overlooked upon slight apologies, though obviously done to afford opportunities for new treaties and additional gifts. The mistaken and perverted humanity of 'the Friendly Association' had softened down their offenses."*

A secret and widespread confederacy among the Indians was suddenly executed by them simultaneously on all the English forts and the settlements of the frontiers in the spring and summer of 1763. Their attack on the inhabitants of the Kittochtinny Valley, east and west of the Susquehanna, was appalling. "The whole country west of Shippensburg in this valley became the prey of the fierce barbarians. They set fire to houses, barns, corn, hay, and everything that was combustible. The wretched inhabitants, whom they surprised at night, at their meals, or in the labor of the fields, were massacred with the utmost cruelty and barbarity; and those who fled were scarcely more happy, overwhelmed by sorrow, without shelter or means of transportation. Their tardy flight was impeded by fainting women and weeping children. The inhabitants of Shippensburg and Carlisle, now become the barrier towns, opened their hearts and houses to their afflicted brethren. In the towns every stable and hovel was crowded with miserable refugees, who, having lost their houses, their cattle, and their harvest, were reduced from independence and happiness to beggary and despair. The streets were filled with people, the men distracted by grief for their losses and the desire for revenge more poignantly excited by the disconsolate females and bereaved children who wailed around them."†

The like murders and bloody cruelties were inflicted at the same time by the barbarous enemy on the inhabitants of the

* Gordon, 395. † Gordon, 398.

Kittochtinny Valley east of the Susquehanna. Amongst them the inhabitants of the township of Paxton, east of where Harrisburg is, in the county of Dauphin, had been sorely afflicted.

The inhabitants in this district who had suffered from this inhuman war were exasperated to excess against the Indians as a treacherous enemy, on whose stipulations no confidence could be placed, and who were to be intimidated only by a chastisement that would be an example and terror. Under the influence of these feelings, at a time of great alarm and excitement, attention was directed to the parts of the Delaware and Six Nation tribes, resident on Conestoga, "who refused to join their brethren in arms, professed affection for the colonists, and avowed their determination to remain neutral. That neutrality was denied, and of part of them was very doubtful. Many outrages were committed in consequence, as was generally believed, of the information and advice they gave to the invaders; and some murders were perpetrated, which the public voice ascribed to a party under the protection of the Moravian brethren." *

"That some of the Conestoga Indians were treacherous appears abundantly," says Mr. Rupp, "from the facts set forth in the affidavits of respectable persons. It was fully believed by the Paxtonians that what were called the friendly Indians connived with, if not directly stimulated, the hostile ones in their relentless attacks upon the frontier settlers at that time."† "That these friendly Indians were guilty of treachery and perfidy in the manor of Conestoga would seem evident from a number of authentic statements and evidence from other credible courses.‡

When Rev. John Elder, of Paxton, heard that a number of persons had assembled to proceed to Conestoga to cut off the Indians, he did all in his power to prevent it. He remonstrated with them on its unlawfulness and barbarity, and assured them that they would be liable to capital punishment. (Letter to Gov. Penn.) His advice and remonstrance were not regarded, and

* Gordon, 404.

† Rupp's "History of Lancaster," p. 852.

‡ Rupp's "History of Dauphin," p. 163. F. Vol. 4, Pennsylvania Archives, p. 139.

on the 14th of December, 1763, a number of men from Paxton and Donegal attacked the Indian village at Conestoga, and there murdered all of the tribe at their town, being six—three men, two women, and a boy—and burned their dwellings. Amongst the slain was one chief who was distinguished for his friendship to the whites. The majority of the Indians of the town were absent at the time of the attack. These, by the agents of the Governor and magistrates, were afterwards removed to the jail in Lancaster as a place of security. Notwithstanding the proclamation of the Governor, offering a reward for the apprehension of the murderers at Conestoga and enjoining vigilance on the part of the public magistrates, a number of Paxtonians and others, amounting to about thirty persons, suddenly made their appearance in Lancaster on the 27th day of December, marched to the prison, forced the doors, and inhumanly murdered all the Indians found within its walls, regardless of their supplications and protestations of innocence. The number thus murdered were fourteen: three men, three women, and eight children.” *

Humanity revolts at deeds so cruel and barbarous as those just recited, becoming only a savage enemy. Cruel as war is, in its mildest forms it becomes doubly cruel when waged with savages. Their barbarous murder of women, infancy, and age induces in their more intellectual and civilized enemies revenge and retaliation. It is considered by authorities on national law that such severities and retaliation, with a ferocious and savage enemy, are legitimate warfare, that by such retaliation they may be brought to a sense of the laws of humanity. It is considered that by such retaliation only can Indian barbarities be encountered and they be intimidated. In the wars which the Indians had been waging on the inhabitants of the settlements for seven years, in which most of the victims were women and children, their own families, being remote from the seat of war, escaped with the exception of the few who fell in the attack on their town of Kittanning, 1756, under the command of Col. Armstrong.

One of the great evils of war is its corruption of human nature and hardening the heart to all the sensibilities of human-

* “Colonial Records,” Vol. 9, p. 103.

ity. While we condemn the murder of the Conestoga Indians as atrocious and barbarous, there is some extenuation to be allowed to fathers and husbands who but a few months before were agonized in mourning over murdered wives and children, whose blood, as they firmly belived, was on the hands and skirts of the barbarous and treacherous enemy, who were living near them under the protection and support of the government. "That inhabitants whose dwellings had been pillaged and burned, their families murdered and scalped by an enemy who but a few months before had in public conference given the most solemn assurances of peace and friendship, and who renewed their hostilities without complaint or warning, should be driven to desperation, is not to be wondered at. They were men with the infirmities and passions of men. The desperate combination to avenge on the Conestoga Indians the barbarous cruelties inflicted on the border families of the whites was limited and confined to a few. The most reliable account of them on record is to be found in the communication of Rev. John Elder to Gov. Penn, December 16, 1763, who was the pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in the township of Paxton and who was respected and beloved for his estimable character. Mr. Elder in his letter says: 'I thought it my duty to give you this early notice that an action of this nature may not be imputed to these frontier settlements. For I know not one person of judgment or prudence that has been in any wise concerned in it; but it has been done by *some hot-headed, ill-advised persons*, and especially by such, I imagine, as *suffered much in their relations by the ravages committed by the late Indian war.*' "

And in a subsequent letter from the same to the Governor, of January 27, 1764, it is stated that "The storm, which had been so long gathering, has at length exploded. Had the government removed the Indians from Conestoga, which had frequently been urged without success, this fearful catastrophe might have been avoided. What could I do with men heated to madness? All that I could do was done. I expostulated, but life and reason were set at defiance, and yet the men in private life are virtuous and respectable; not cruel, but mild and merciful. The time will come when each palliating circumstance will be calmly weighed. This deed, magnified into the blackest of crimes, shall be con-

sidered as one of those youthful ebullitions of wrath, caused by momentary excitement to which human infirmity is subjected."

The outrage perpetrated by the murderers in the Lancaster jail or workhouse was more flagitious than that at the Indian town. There had been time for passion to subside and for reason and humanity to resume their control. The doors of a public prison were forced, and the barriers of the law, public faith, and security set at defiance. The authorities of the government that had the Indians removed to this place under assurance of protection and safety were culpable that they did not, at the peril of their lives, prevent the murderous assassination; or have arrested the perpetrators in a town having a population of over two thousand, and in it at the time a company of the king's troops under the command of Capt. Robison. Had the magistrates who assumed the responsibility of protection repaired to the jail with a few resolute men, under the panoply of the law, they would have been a host in themselves to have repelled the criminal assailants, not numbering more than thirty. Whether successful or not, they were bound by every obligation of duty to have made the attempt at the hazard of their lives. It is a reflection on the magistrates and authorities who were instrumental in placing the Indians in the public jail, as well as the citizens of Lancaster, that they permitted this outrage and the escape of the perpetrators. The insurgents increased in number by accessions in Lancaster County, and sometime after repaired to the neighborhood of Philadelphia, and made threats against the safety of the Indians there, under the protection of the provincial government. Better counsels prevailed with them, and they returned to their homes without any other acts of violence.

The inhabitants of the frontier who had suffered for so many years from the ravages of Indian warfare remained incensed against the provincial government, which had failed in a first and most imperative duty to its citizens of protection against a public and savage enemy, and which was feeding and maintaining then at the public expense more than one hundred Indians, many of whom were believed by the settlers to have been perpetrators of the most horrid barbarities but a few months before on the white settlements, and yet the government made

no provision for more than a thousand families of the inhabitants of the frontier reduced to extreme distress by the destruction of their dwellings, furniture, cattle, and crops, and who were dependent on private charity.* They despaired of adequate protection from the government, or a change of the policy of rewarding the Indians by presents for their promises of good behavior instead of intimidating them by chastisement, as long as the government was organized as it was with its Legislature controlled by about one-tenth of the population of the province, who were opposed to military armament, or appropriations for the public defense.

The killing of the Indians at Conestoga and Lancaster was aggravated or extenuated by the political parties in Pennsylvania, as they were divided in relation to the administration of the government. We give the representations of that affair and the public feeling by Rev. John Ewing, D.D., who then and after sustained a high reputation for learning, intelligence, piety, and purity of character. It is in his letter addressed to Joseph Reed, at London, who was afterwards President of the Executive Council.

PHILADELPHIA, 1764.

As to public affairs, our province is greatly involved in intestine feuds, at a time when we should rather unite, one and all, to manage the affairs of our social government with prudence and discretion. A few designing men, having engrossed too much power into their hands, are pushing matters beyond all bounds. There are twenty-two Quakers in our Assembly at present, who, although they won't absolutely refuse to grant money for the king's use, yet never fail to contrive matters in such a manner as to afford little or no assistance to the poor distressed frontiers; while our public money is lavishly squandered away in supporting a number of savages, who have been murdering and scalping us for many years past. This has enraged some desperate young men, who had lost their nearest relatives by these very Indians, to cut off about twenty Indians that lived near Lancaster, who had, during the war, carried on a constant intercourse with our other enemies; and they came down to Germantown to inquire why Indians, known to be enemies, were supported even in luxury, with the best that our markets afforded, at the public expense, while they were left in the utmost distress on the frontiers, in want of the necessaries of life. Ample promises were made to them that their grievances should be redressed, upon which they immediately dispersed and went home. These persons have been unjustly represented as endeavoring to overturn the government,

* Gordon, 408.

when nothing was more distant from their minds. However this matter may be looked upon in Britain, where you know very little of the matter, you may be assured that ninety-nine in a hundred of the province are firmly persuaded that they are maintaining our enemies, while our friends, who are suffering the greatest extremities, are neglected; and that few but Quakers think that the Lancaster Indians have suffered anything but their just deserts. 'Tis not a little surprising to us here that orders should be sent from the crown to apprehend and bring to justice those persons who have cut off that nest of enemies that lived near Lancaster. They never were subjects to his majesty; were a free, independent State, retaining all the powers of a free State; sat in all our treaties with the Indians as one of the tribes belonging to the Six Nations, in alliance with us; they entertained the French and Indian spies; gave intelligence to them of the defenseless state of the province; furnished them with our *Gazette* every week or fortnight; gave them intelligence of all the dispositions of the province army against them; were frequently with the French and Indians at their forts and towns; supplied them with warlike stores; joined with the strange Indians in their war dances and in the parties that made incursions on our frontiers; were ready to take up the hatchet against the English openly when the French requested it; actually murdered and scalped some of the frontier inhabitants; insolently boasted of the murders they had committed, when they saw our blood was cooled, after the last treaty at Lancaster; confessed that they had been at war with us, and would soon be at war with us again (which accordingly happened), and even went so far as to put one of their own warriors (Tegarie) to death because he refused to go to war with them against the English. All these things were known to the frontier inhabitants, and are since proved upon oath. This occasioned them to be cut off by about forty or fifty persons, collected from all the frontier counties, though they were called by the name of the little township of Paxton, where possibly the smallest part of them resided. And what surprises us more than all, the accounts we have from England are that our Assembly, in a petition they have drawn up to the king, for a change of government should represent this province in a state of uproar and riot, and when not a man in it has once resisted a single officer of the government, nor a single act of violence committed, unless you call the Lancaster affair such, although it was no more than going to war with that tribe, as they had done before with others, without a formal proclamation of war by government. I have not time, as you may guess by this scrawl, to write more at this time.

P. S.—You may publish the above account of the Lancaster Indians, if you please.*

At this period of excitement the inhabitants of the frontier and their friends renewed their accusation against the Quakers, charging them with having encouraged the Indians in their hostilities against the whites, and having aided them when so en-

* "Life of Reed," Vol. I., p. 34.

gaged with guns and other instruments of death. These accusations were repelled by them as unfounded, whilst they reproached the Scotch-Irish settlers of the province as aiders and abettors of the Conestoga murders by the party from Paxton. When the charge of cruelty and hatred to the Indian tribes by the Scotch-Irish race has since been repeated by writers or compilers of history, the evidence to support the allegation when any was furnished was a reference to the Conestoga murders. Charges against the Society of Friends for having encouraged and aided the Indians in their barbarous war on the whites could only be referred to some few individuals of that respectable class of the population, whose principles were opposed to war, and who were distinguished for peace, order, and obedience to the law. It was unreasonable as well as unjust to charge either of these large masses of the population of the province with the wrongs and crimes perpetrated by a few of their misguided individuals.

On the part of the Scotch and Irish and the Presbyterian Church, who were implicated by their opponents in these outrages against humanity and law, we repel the imputation as unfounded, and made without evidence and against evidence. There is the authority of Rev. Mr. Elder, who resided near the residence of these offenders, "that they were a few hot-headed, ill-advised persons; that there was not one person of judgment or prudence that had been in anywise concerned in it." "It was an ebullition of wrath caused by momentary excitement." On these excited men no person would be supposed to have more influence than Rev. Mr. Elder. He was known to have no undue partiality for these Indian enemies, as for years under the appointment of the provincial government he had the command of a company for the defense of the frontier against the Indian ravages, which was done faithfully at the peril of health and life. That influence was exerted in vain, to subdue the excitement or restrain the desperate purpose of these men. He also dispatched an express after the party of rioters to inform the government of their hostile purposes. The Governor, in his reply to Mr. Elder, dated December 29, 1763, expressed his approbation of his endeavors to prevent the execution of their wicked purposes. The most extensive and numerous Scotch-Irish set-

tlement in the province at that time was in the Cumberland Valley, having in it more of the Presbyterian element dwelling together than in any other district. It had suffered more from Indian barbarities than any other part of the province, and at the time of the murder of the Conestoga Indians hundreds of its families were mourning over murdered and scalped members by the hands of treacherous savages, and were destitute of the necessaries of life of which they had been deprived by the same enemy. The eastern end of this valley was separated from Paxton township only by the river Susquehanna, yet there is no evidence that the inhabitants of this valley had participated in this transaction, or had any connection with it. There is the highest evidence from the public documents of the time to exonerate them from the imputation. Col. John Armstrong, of Cumberland County, at the time a magistrate, and having command of the provincial troops of that county, by his letter to Gov. Penn from Carlisle, December 28, 1763, acknowledges the receipt of the Governor's proclamation against the offenders at Conestoga, which he had distributed throughout the county, and states: "I have the pleasure to inform your honor that not one person of the county of Cumberland, so far as I can learn, has been consulted or concerned in that inhuman and scandalous piece of butchery, and I should be very sorry that ever the people of this county should attempt avenging their injuries on the heads of a few inoffensive and superannuated savages whom nature had already devoted to the dust." * This is the statement of an intelligent, brave, and honest man who had the best sources of information, and who would state truly what he did know without being influenced by fear or favor.

It was this extensive settlement, as before narrated, which maintained from its commencement until the Indians became the public enemy, a period of about twenty years, friendly and peaceable intercourse with them, without bloodshed, strife, or violence.

We are not aware of any evidence of the Scotch-Irish settlers of Bucks and Chester Counties, eastern portion of Lancaster or York Counties, having had any connection with the massacres perpetrated on the Indians at Conestoga or Lancas-

* "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. 4, p. 152.

ter. That they did not discover or apprehend the perpetrators, if even in their power, was not a criminality that identified them with the offenders. The public mind was then convulsed with excitement and passion, and the public authorities were so unsettled as to be unsafe holders of the scales of justice. At such a crisis innocence might readily suffer, and the guilty escape. The humanity of the law established as its maxim that it was better that many guilty persons escape than that one innocent person suffer wrong by the adjudication of the law. It allowed not angry passions to direct and control its measures and impose its penalties. The perpetrators were allowed to escape, by reason of public sentiment being so strong against the Indians, as having been the treacherous and murderous enemy of the frontier inhabitants and of the unwillingness on the part of the great majority of the people to apprehend or punish the men who had retaliated, as they supposed, on the tribe some of their bloody cruelties that had been inflicted on the defenseless white families.

The murder of the Conestoga Indians, with its extenuation, is a stain upon the annals of Pennsylvania. It was a tragedy performed by a few men under the impulse of feelings excited at the time by the mangled bodies of wives and children on the frontier from the hands of Indians, in which the Conestoga Indians, if not active participants, were believed to be aiders and abettors. The reproach of this single act of barbarous warfare is not to be put down to the condemnation of Pennsylvania or any classes of her inhabitants or to subject them to the charge of excess against humanity.

Reproachful as this warfare was to the province, it is to be recollected that Pennsylvania was not the only colony of North America which in times of excitement had allowed high crimes to be perpetrated with impunity under less extenuating circumstances in their early governments by excesses and outrages against the law and the lives and the property of their people. Massachusetts had its judicial murders in the tribunals of the law by trials conducted in the usual form, by which innocent men and women in numbers were convicted and executed for witchcraft. The city of New York, in 1741, with a population of about eight thousand, was the theater of a cruel and bloody

delusion not less lamentable, under which judges and lawyers prostituted their stations to sacrifice under color of law slaves falsely accused of arson, tried without counsel, convicted upon insufficient evidence, and of whom *thirteen were burned at the stake*, eighteen hanged, and seventy-one transported.*

At the recital of such tragedies humanity revolts, and deplores the infirmity and depravity that perpetrated them, as well as the weakness of the law and the inefficiency of its constituted authorities that allowed the escape of the offenders with impunity.

Lawless and riotous proceedings were had near Fort Loudon in March, 1765, in which some of the inhabitants of Cumberland Valley residing near the base of the Kittochtinny Mountain participated. It being known that a large amount of goods had been brought into the neighborhood from Philadelphia in wagons to be carried by the Indian traders on pack horses to places of Indian trade in the west of the mountains, a party of men assembled, amounting to about fifty, where Mercersburg is now situated, being on the traders' road. They there met the traders with their horses and goods on the way. One of the assembled party, Mr. Duffield, who was respected and prominent in the county, desired the persons having charge of the horses and goods to store them, and not proceed without further orders. They made light of this request and disregarded it by pursuing their way over the mountain to the west. The assembled party pursued them across the Tuscarora Mountain into the Great Cove, and again urged them to store up their goods. Mr. Duffield reasoned with them on the impropriety of their proceedings and the great danger the frontier inhabitants would be exposed to if the Indians should now get a supply, as it was well known that they had scarcely any ammunition. To supply them now would be a kind of murder, and would be illegally trading at the expense of the blood and safety of the frontiers. The traders ridiculed what he said and disregarded it. Mr. Duffield and his party returned to their homes without any attempt to restrain the trading party. Lieut. James Smith, one of Mr. Duffield's party, was not satisfied to be so repulsed. Mr. Smith had commanded for some years a company of rangers employed

* Hilton's "History," Vol. 2, p. 392.

in the defense of that frontier against the incursions of the savages. He was a man of resolution, of indomitable courage, and inflexible from any purpose which he deemed necessary for the safety of the inhabitants. With ~~ten~~ of his old company he the following night pursued the traders, whom they overtook on Sideling Hill. They attacked them by shooting their horses, and required them to leave their goods except their private property and retire. This was done, and the goods for trading, consisting, among other things, of blankets, lead, tomahawks, and scalping knives, were burned and destroyed, and after this gunpowder, which they had stored. The traders returned to Fort Loudon, which was then under the command of Lieut. Grant, a royal officer, with a company of Highland soldiers, who assisted in arresting, without oath or warrant or any process from a magistrate, a number of the inhabitants of the neighborhood who had no concern in the attack on the traders or the destruction of their goods and who were brought to Fort Loudon and there confined. Smith soon appeared before the fort with three hundred riflemen under his command, when a parley was had which led to the immediate release of the confined inhabitants. There was still kept in the fort some of their guns that had been taken by the soldiers. Lieut. Grant, having gone into the country near the fort, was taken into custody by some of the dissatisfied inhabitants, and released on his promise to deliver up the guns withheld in the fort, and which was complied with.

The author of these violent proceedings was Lieut. Smith, having with him ten of his rangers. The inhabitants of the neighborhood of Fort Loudon promptly assembled to resist and redress the arbitrary and illegal proceedings of the soldiers from Fort Loudon in arresting and confining at their will respectable persons who had no participation in the affair. The proceedings of Smith and his party had their approbation as necessary to the defense and safety of that frontier against a savage enemy. That enemy had the preceding summer surprised the inhabitants of Conococheague by their sudden and unexpected attack, inflicted on them the most cruel barbarities, murdering and scalping many, amongst whom were a schoolmaster and the children of the school. Several tribes of Indi-

ans were still in hostile attitude in their wild retreats on the western waters. As the government had no force adequate to the protection of the frontier or the chastisement of the skulking and bloody savages, who were generally successful in their ravages, the great reliance for peace on the frontier was the want of means and supplies with the Indians to enable or encourage them to renew their murderous incursions.

An act of the Assembly of October, 1763, prohibited the selling of guns, powder, or other warlike stores to the Indians. The trader who had a license to trade with the Indians was prohibited from selling them military stores or war implements. These traders had long been reputed vicious, lawless, and profligate, regardless of the law, the Governor's proclamations, and the complaints of the Indians in relation to their traffic with the Indians in rum. The provincial government acknowledged its inability to restrain them and execute the law, and advised the Indians before the Indian wars to execute the law themselves against the traders by seizing and destroying the rum brought to their trading places. The government had not yet done anything efficient for the defense of the frontier inhabitants. Those in the Cumberland Valley had been left in a great measure to their own resources and defenses during the nine years of Indian war following Braddock's defeat. To them these wars were attended with the sacrifice of many men, women, and children, and the destruction of much of their property.

The apprehension of the renewal of these savage wars in the coming season was overwhelming to the inhabitants on West Conococheague, who, living near the base of the mountains through which the Indians had their warpaths, were most exposed to their incursions. That apprehension was well founded and the danger imminent if the Indians were stimulated by a supply from the traders of military stores and implements of murder. The public exigency and safety demanded prompt action; the peace of the country was involved. The question was one of life and death to an extensive settlement. The only effectual restraint upon them and others pursuing the same trade was the destruction of their property. This, weighed against the blood, lives, and property of the inhabitants of this frontier, was as the dust of the balance. The men who had for

years periled their lives in defense of that frontier assumed to seize and destroy their military stores, on their way to the enemy.

The proceedings of these border inhabitants against the Indian traders and the garrison at Fort Loudon were very offensive to the officers of the government. Gen. Gage, who commanded the royal forces in the province, was indignant at the disrespect manifested for the king's fort and garrison. The Governor had warrants issued for the arrest of Lieut. Smith and the other offenders.

The public sentiment of the great mass of the people was so manifest in favor of the arbitrary proceedings of Smith and his friends as necessary to the public defense and safety of human lives that the criminal proceedings instituted against them were withdrawn; and as a treaty of peace was formed shortly after the occurrence with the remaining tribes of Indians who had been hostile, the public fears were allayed and the traders pursued their traffic, having more regard to the laws and public opinion.

In the year 1768 there was a riotous and lawless proceeding by a party of rioters in rescuing from the prison in Carlisle Frederick Stump, a German and his German servant man who were in confinement on the charge of murdering in Sherman's Valley, west of the Kittochtinny Mountain, ten Indians—four men, three women, and three children. Of their guilt there was no doubt. The murder was unprovoked and indefensible, and in defense of himself the monster alleged only that the Indians were intoxicated and disorderly and he apprehended some injury. Some of his indignant neighbors arrested him and his servant, and lodged them in Carlisle jail. A warrant had been issued by the chief justice of the province for the arrest of Stump, and required him to be brought before him at Philadelphia, "to answer for said murders, and to be dealt with according to law." * Though public opinion was strong against the prisoners that they ought to be convicted and punished with all the severity of the law, yet the warrant for the removal of Stump to Philadelphia was considered an illegal encroachment on the rights of the citizen who by law was secured a trial for his

* "Colonial Records," Vol. 9, p. 416.

crime in the county where committed, and a jury of the vicinage for his triers, and it was apprehended that the removal of Stump, if allowed, might be a precedent for the removal of innocent men who might be oppressed by a trial in a distant jurisdiction. Opposition to his removal was expressed, and threats were made inducing an apprehension of rescue from the sheriff on his way to Philadelphia if attempted. It would seem that a regard to the law, public justice, and the safe-keeping of the prisoner, as well as to quiet the minds of the people, induced Justice Armstrong, with some other magistrates, to confer on the subject, and after executing a commitment of Stump to the jail on the charge of murder they advised the sheriff, for fear of rescue on the way, which was threatened until further orders were received from the government, to defer the removal. A party under arms, who had assembled for the rescue, then dispersed when informed that Stump and his servant man were committed to the jail of Cumberland.

Two days after an armed party of Stump's friends from Sherman's Valley came to Carlisle, and, being joined by some others amounting to about seventy at an early hour in the day approached the jail with arms, having sent a few without arms before them, who were admitted within the door of the jail. Col. Armstrong, with some other magistrates and citizens, on the first alarm repaired to the jail and there expostulated with the rioters and commanded them to desist from their unlawful purpose of rescuing the prisoners. While Justice Armstrong was striving to disperse them, the rioters disregarded the magistrates, and repelled them with indignities and violence and by numbers and arms effected a rescue of Stump and Ironsetter, whom they carried off in the direction of the mountains.* Carlisle was then but a small village, with a population too few to repel or arrest the armed rioters, whose lawless act at the jail was a surprise and occupied but a few minutes. The rioters were immediately pursued by Col. Armstrong, the sheriff, Rev. Mr. Steele, and others, who hoped to be able to induce them to return the prisoners, but did not overtake them. The rioters, apprehensive of pursuit, hastened across the mountain to Sherman's Valley. The magistrates, in person with the sheriff, pro-

* "Colonial Records," Vol. 9, pp., 450, 462, 464, 484.

ceeded in a day or two after into Sherman's Valley in search of the prisoners and their party, but without success. Stump had fled, it was said, to Lancaster County, where his relatives resided, having his German servant with him. From that it was believed they made their escape into Virginia, and of them no further intelligence was heard, though the Governor of Pennsylvania offered a reward of £200 for the apprehension of Stump and £100 for the apprehension of Ironsetter.

Gov. Penn, in his letter to Col. Armstrong, dated February 3, 1768, reproves the magistrates of Cumberland County for their "insolence who had taken upon them to suggest or even to suppose that the government or judges intended to do so illegal an act as to try the prisoners in any other county or place than where the act was committed," and that he was to be removed to the city only for examination.* The magistrates and inhabitants of Cumberland County were excusable for not comprehending why these criminals were to be conveyed to the city of Philadelphia, with a guard and at the risk of escape or rescue, for the mere purpose of examination, to be reconveyed to Carlisle for trial, when the crime of murder, with which they were charged, was admitted by them, on which they were committed to the county prison at Carlisle by the magistrates of Cumberland County, having authority where they were in confinement and in irons to await their trial.

In a communication from Col. Armstrong to the Governor, of February 7, 1768, he says: "I assure you that, after the closest examination I have been able to make, even the ignorant and giddy crowd who have committed this hasty, flagrant violation of the established course of justice, have done it under the mistaken apprehension of the intention of carrying Stump to Philadelphia." † Though the feeling of the mass of the people was indignation toward these barbarous murderers, yet they were not satisfied that a precedent should be established in a case so criminal, that might be used again to the prejudice of others, unjustly accused. The friends of Stump, who were desirous of his escape, took advantage of the general feeling in the county against the illegality of the removal of the prisoners, and with the assistance of some of these persons, were successful in ef-

* "Colonial Records," Vol. 9, p. 446. † Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 462.

fecting the rescue of Stump. Their offense was a great one against public justice, to be reprobated by every good citizen. Such offenses, if allowed to pass without signal punishment, impair the structure of government, and endanger the security and safety of the community, and lessen the respect for the public authorities and law, in substituting anarchy and violence for law and peace. It was a great reflection on the magistrates of Cumberland County, and its inhabitants, that these two savage white men should have been allowed to escape the severest penalty of the law, which they deserved.

This riotous act is not to be imputed to any one national class or religious denomination. It was made up of persons professing to belong to several. Justices Armstrong, R. Miller, W. Lyon, Rev. Mr. Steele, and others who were active and resolute in opposing the rioters, as well as pursuing them and the prisoners, were of Irish nativity, and belonged to the Presbyterian Church. Though Stump and Ironsetter were Germans and may have been assisted in their rescue and escape by some of their German relatives, it would be unjust and illiberal to reproach the German population of Cumberland or Lancaster Counties for the crimes of these two reckless individuals.

The Kittochtinny Valley, east and west of the Susquehanna, being, during the Indian wars, the frontier of the province of Pennsylvania, was harassed for eight years and more with all the ravages and cruelties of savage warfare. The defense of it was cast almost entirely on the inhabitants by the remissness of the royal and provincial governments to provide for the public defense; men would organize themselves into military companies under the command of some selected leader. Among the first companies organized on West Conococheague, on the bloody outbreak by the Delaware Indians, in 1775, was one which selected for its captain Rev. John Steele, their Presbyterian pastor. This command was accepted by Mr. Steele, and executed with so much skill, bravery, and judgment as to commend him to the provincial government, which appointed him a captain of the provincial troops. This appointment he held for many years, to the benefit of the public service and the satisfaction of the government. He was reputed a sound divine, of piety and learning, and did not relinquish the ministry

for arms. Such was the state of the country that he often exercised his ministry with his gun at his side, addressing his congregation, the men of which had their weapons within their reach.

One of the most efficient men of that day in the Cumberland Valley was Col. John Armstrong, of Carlisle, of Irish nativity, and an elder in the Presbyterian Church. He was a man of intelligence, of integrity, and high religious and moral character. He was resolute and brave, and, though living habitually in the fear of the Lord, he feared not the face of man.

Dr. Hugh Mercer, a Scotchman of talent and education, had taken up his residence in the southern part of this valley, near the Maryland line, a short time before Braddock's defeat. Having enjoyed some military training and experience in Europe, and having a taste for military life, he was early in 1756 appointed a captain in the provincial service, in which he was continued for some years, being promoted to the rank of colonel.

Col. Armstrong and Col. Mercer were, in 1776, appointed by the American Congress generals of its revolutionary army on the recommendation of Washington, who had served with them in Forbes's campaign in 1758, and knew their qualifications. Col. Armstrong served his country with ability and fidelity in the trying struggle for American independence. Gen. Mercer, highly esteemed by Washington, and having the confidence of the army and the country, fell, mortally wounded and mangled by the British soldiery at the battle of Princeton in January, 1777, whilst gallantly and bravely leading his division against the royal army.

There might be named many other officers who rendered signal services as commanders of provincial troops or of rangers in the Kittochtinny Valley during the Indian wars, exposing their health and lives in defense of their country and friends.

The expedition organized by Col. Armstrong in this valley in 1756 for an attack on the Indian town and fortress at Kittanning, west of the mountains, was conducted, through a mountainous country in the possession of the enemy, with a skill, judgment, celerity, bravery, hardihood, and success not surpassed by any armament or other military expedition of the colonies. The corporation of Philadelphia, on his victory, ad-

dressed a complimentary letter to Col. Armstrong, thanking him and his officers for their gallant conduct, and presented to him a piece of plate and a medal struck for the occasion with a suitable device.

During these wars more than half of the inhabitants of the Cumberland Valley sought safety for themselves and families in the eastern parts of York and Lancaster Counties. Pastors could no longer assemble their congregations for worship without great peril, and for security they accompanied their friends to the older settlements. Even the schools had to be discontinued, for the master and scholars of a school in the very heart of the Conococheague settlement were barbarously murdered by a party of Indians who had penetrated the valley without discovery and when their hostilities were not apprehended. A classical school had been established by Mr. John King (afterwards Rev. Dr. King), in the year 1761, in the Conococheague settlement, which was continued for some years, until the incursions of the savages made it unsafe.

In and after 1765 the inhabitants who had fled returned with their families to the valley, resumed their desolate and dilapidated farms, and applied themselves with renewed industry and perseverance to rebuilding dwellings, preparing their fields for a crop of grain, and replenishing their furniture and stock of cattle and farm implements as fast as resources and opportunities would allow. Congregations were assembled for worship as in the preceding times of peace, and in 1767-69 pastors were again called to and installed over the several Presbyterian congregations in the valley, vacated by the wars and ravages of a barbarous enemy. Several of these, Dr. Cooper, Dr. King, and Dr. Duffield, were men eminent for learning, piety, and usefulness in the Presbyterian Church.

The settlement progressed rapidly in population and improvement. The only public grievances commanding attention for some years were political ones common to the inhabitants of this province and of the other colonies who, in public and private, discussed the relations between the colonies and parent State, involving the constitutional and chartered rights of American freemen. The Irish and Scotch emigrants who had removed from the mother country and friends to cross the

ocean for a wilderness were not subjects for passive obedience, or willing to surrender their rights or liberties to the exactions of either king or Parliament.

CHAPTER IV.

The Scotch-Irish Opposition to British Taxation—Kittochtinny or Cumberland Valley in Favor of American Independence—Resolutions—Military Organizations—Early Expression of Public Sentiment in Favor of Separation from Great Britain—Participation in Maintenance of Independence—Prompt Action to Form an Army—Congress of 1776—Irish and Scotch Members from Pennsylvania—Abilities—Influence and Measures—After War, Inhabitants of Cumberland County Resumed Their Labors on Their Farms—Regard for Education—Dickinson College.

WHEN the wrath of the royal government was poured out on the colony of Massachusetts, and the port of Boston closed, there was no class in any of the colonies with whom there was greater sympathy for the oppressed of New England, or who were more indignant against the tyrannical measures of the royal government than with the Irish and Scotch inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and their immediate descendants.

At a meeting of the freeholders and freemen of Cumberland County, held at Carlisle on the 12th of July, 1774, John Montgomery, Esq., of Irish nativity, in the chair, resolutions were adopted in condemnation of the act of Parliament closing the port of Boston and recommending vigorous and prudent measures to obtain a redress of grievances. They recommended a general congress of deputies from all the colonies—the non-importation of any merchandise from Great Britain or dependencies, and promised contributions to the relief of their suffering brethren in Boston. At this meeting deputies were appointed to meet immediately others from other counties of the province at Philadelphia, to concert measures preparatory to the general Congress. Their deputies were James Wilson, of Scotch nativity, a member of the Congress of 1776, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and after the organization of the Federal Government a judge of the Supreme Court of the

United States, William Irwin and Robert Magaw, of Irish origin, the first of whom was a general and the latter a colonel in the army of the revolution from Pennsylvania.

The blood of American freemen was first shed at Lexington by British soldiery under the command of royal officers on the 19th of April, 1775, and proclaimed that the arbitrary acts of Parliament and the tyrannical measures of the ministry were to be enforced by arms. The intelligence in Pennsylvania was received with a blaze of indignation. Though war news in those days was transmitted with only the speed of the post horse, and there were only six or eight newspapers published in the province, yet the tocsin of alarm soon extended through its towns, villages, hills, and valleys. At Philadelphia, on the 24th of April, its citizens assembled in thousands, resolved to form military associations for the protection of their property, liberties, and lives. Like associations were immediately formed in the adjoining counties. In the distant county of Cumberland the war cry was no sooner sounded than its freemen rallied in thousands for military association and organization in defense of their rights. The American archives preserve a letter from Carlisle written on May 6, 1775, in which it is stated: "Yesterday the county committee met from nineteen townships on the short notice they had. Above three thousand men have already associated, the arms returned amounted to about fifteen hundred. The committee have voted five hundred effective men besides commissioned officers to be immediately drafted, taken into pay, armed, and disciplined to march on the first emergency, to be paid and supported as long as necessary by a tax on all estates, real and personal, in the county." * This was not vapor on the part of the men of Cumberland Valley. They were sincere and in earnest in their associations, and inflexible in purpose, as a short time evinced. The memorable engagement at Breed's and Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775, aroused the colonists to increased activity. It proved that untrained militia could contend successfully with trained and disciplined veterans; and while it astounded British commanders, it increased the confidence of the American patriot in the safety of his liberty and rights. The sword was drawn by both contending parties,

* "American Archives," Vol. 2, 516.

and their measures were for battle; negotiation and concession were no longer to be allowed to subjects by a haughty and tyrannical government. The controversy was to be settled by the last resort of nations—arms. The colonists saw before them a protracted war, with all its calamities, between which and abject submission they had no alternative. They chose the former, regardless of its cost and sacrifices. The royal commanders, with their ministerial rulers, anticipated but a single campaign, in which their trained and well-provided army was to march where it pleased to subdue and punish the flying rebels.

The public service and defense of the country demanded from the colonies an army adequate to the emergency. Congress, in May, 1775, in apportioning that army, required from Pennsylvania four thousand, three hundred men. The appointment of Washington, by the unanimous vote of the Continental Congress, as commander in chief of the army was in itself a tower of strength to the colonists.

The military spirit and ardor of the freemen of Pennsylvania were not abated by the prospect of immediate service in the American army in a distant colony.

The call for a military force was responded to from the city of Philadelphia and the inland counties with great alacrity and by immediate measures of organization and preparation. The freemen of this province did not wait for forced drafts; companies of volunteers were immediately organized, to be commanded by officers of their own choice. From the Cumberland Valley in the summer of 1775 companies under the command of officers of their choice, obeyed from inclination and respect, marched to join the army under the command of Washington in the siege of Boston. One of these companies was from Chambersburg, under the command of James Chambers as captain, which marched in June, 1775, and joined the army at Boston in August, 1775, under the command of Washington. James Chambers was in a short time advanced to the rank of a colonel of the regular army, and remained in the military service of the country till the close of the revolutionary war.

Other companies were from West Conococheague, Shippensburg, Carlisle, and the eastern part of the county. These were made up of many hardy and efficient men, the heads of families,

respectable and substantial freeholders. They were without acquaintance with the discipline of European armies, and without military dress or accouterments. They were all familiar with the use of firearms, and some had experience in the frontier wars against the French and Indians. They were the men for the times, inured to toil and exposure, stout and athletic. They were soldiers who could march, when an emergency required, without tents or baggage wagons, carrying their equipments in their knapsacks. With a blanket they could sleep on the bare earth, with the open air for their apartment and the firmament for their covering. The campaign of these men was not a mere parade, or a summer excursion to see the enemy and return to their homes. An extended service was before them not to be mistaken, and many of these men are known to have remained from that time in the military service of their country for years, and some of them until independence was acknowledged and the army disbanded, having only at distant intervals made a short visit to their families when the public service would allow. Some others had in other colonies a soldier's burial and grave.

Notwithstanding the bloody contest with arms, in which the colonists were now engaged in defense of their lives, liberties, and properties against the armies of the royal government, there was still manifested universally a repugnance to dissolve the connection between the colonists and the parent State. The Assembly of Pennsylvania, in the appointment of delegates in November, 1775, to represent the province in Congress, expressly instructed them that "you, in behalf of this colony, dissent from and utterly reject any propositions, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a *separation* from our mother country or a change of the form of this government." *

The progress of the war and the oppressive exactions of the British government after a few months unsettled public opinion on this question, and the necessity and policy of independence became a debatable question with the colonists in their social meetings. At this time there was no newspaper published in Pennsylvania, we believe, west of York. The freemen of the county of Cumberland in this province were amongst the first to form the opinion that the safety and welfare of the colonies

* "American Archives," Vol. 3, 1408.

did render separation from the mother country necessary. The first public expression of that sentiment and its embodiment in a memorial emanated from the freemen and inhabitants of that county to the Assembly of the province, and is among the national archives.* It is an able, temperate, patriotic expression of the considerations that induced them to petition the Assembly "that the last instructions which it gave to the delegates of this province in Congress, wherein they are enjoined not to consent to any step which may cause or lead to a separation from Great Britain, *may be withdrawn*." This memorial was presented to the Assembly on the 28th of May, 1776, and on the 5th of June, after a debate of considerable length, was referred by a large majority to a committee to bring in new instructions to the delegates of this province in Congress.† Instructions, in conformity to the memorial of the province of Cumberland, were reported, adopted, and signed by the Speaker June 14, wherein it is stated: "The situation of public affairs is since [their instructions of November] so greatly altered that we now think ourselves justifiable in removing the restrictions laid upon you by those instructions."‡ The memorial from Cumberland County bears evidence that the inhabitants of that county were in advance of their representatives in the Assembly and in Congress on the subject of independence. The considerations suggested by them had their influence on the Assembly, who adopted the petition of the memorialists, and *withdrew* the instructions that had been given to the delegates in Congress in opposition to independence. As the Cumberland memorial was presented to the Assembly on the 23d of May, 1776, it probably had occupied the attention and consideration of the inhabitants of the Cumberland Valley early in that month. As there was no remonstrance from this district by any dissatisfied with the purposes of the memorial, we are to suppose that it expressed the public sentiment of that large, respectable, and influential district of the province, which had then many officers and men in the ranks of the Continental army.

Resolutions in favor of independence were adopted by the citizens of Mecklenburg County, N. C., on the 20th of May, 1775. But the feeling there at that time was by no means

* Ibid., Fourth Series, Vol. 5, 850, 851. † Ibid., 858. ‡ Ibid., 862.

general, and counter combinations were also entered into for sustaining the royal authority.

The Virginia Convention, on the 15th of May, 1776, instructed the Virginia delegates in Congress to propose to that body a declaration of independence. In obedience to this Richard H. Lee, of Virginia, submitted to Congress on the 7th of June the resolution, "That the United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States, and that their political connection with Great Britain is and ought to be dissolved." * This resolution, after much debate, was passed on the 8th by a bare majority, seven States to six, the delegates of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland being expressly instructed against it. The subject was postponed till the 1st of July and a committee appointed to prepare a formal declaration of independence. The outside influence of the freemen, as well as of other public assemblies in Pennsylvania, was in favor of independence. The Provincial Conference of Pennsylvania, assembled at Philadelphia, of which Thomas McKean was President, unanimously, on the 24th of June, declared their "willingness to concur in a vote of the Congress declaring the united colonies free and independent States," which was signed and presented to Congress.† The sense of the military in the ranks from Pennsylvania, then in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, was taken by their commanders on this momentous question. When the question was submitted to Col. McKean's battalion of four hundred on the 10th of June, it was carried unanimously in the affirmative, and their approbation manifested by three huzzas. In other battalions at the same time resolutions were adopted unanimously disapproving of the instructions of the Assembly of Pennsylvania to the delegates in Congress restricting them in their action. The Assembly of Pennsylvania, as before stated, yielding to the expression of public sentiment by the freemen of Cumberland Valley, as well as by the Pennsylvania forces in the army, who were staking their lives on the issue with arms in their hands on the side of independence, on the 14th of June *rescinded* their instructions to the delegates in Congress, who were at liberty to vote on the questions of independence, untrammelled by the instructions of November.

* Hild. U. S., Vol. 3, 74. † "American Archives," Vol. 5, 962.

The committee having reported a formal Declaration of Independence which, with the resolution on the subject, was brought up in Congress on the 1st of July, the majority of the Pennsylvania delegates remained inflexible in their unwillingness to vote for the measure, at the head of which opposition was the distinguished patriot, John Dickinson, who opposed the measure not as bad or uncalled for but as premature. But when, on the 4th of July, the subject came up for final action, two of the Pennsylvania delegates, Dickinson and Morris, who had voted in the negative, absented themselves, and the vote of Pennsylvania was carried by the votes of Franklin,* Wilson, and Morton against the votes of Willing and Humphreys. The men who voted in opposition to this measure were esteemed honest and patriotic men, but were too timid for the crisis. They faltered and shrank from responsibility and danger when they should have been firm and brave. The convention of Pennsylvania at once recalled its quaking delegates, and elected in their places Cols. George Ross, James Smith, Dr. Benjamin Rush, George Clymer, and George Taylor. Though the Declaration of Independence was adopted on the 4th of July, it was not signed until the 2d of August, 1776, when the new delegates from Pennsylvania were present, and affixed their names to it. The convention selected the majority of the new delegates from the interior of the province: Col. Ross from Lancaster, Col. Smith from New York, and George Taylor from Northampton, James

* "Franklin had been made to feel in the city of Philadelphia, in 1764, the uncertainty of popular favor and the power of party prejudice, by a defeat in his election to the Assembly, after having been chosen for fourteen years successively. This was an empty triumph to his opponents, as the Assembly who convened, by a large majority, appointed him special agent to the court of Great Britain to carry out the purpose of a change in provincial government and to manage the general affairs of the province. John Dickinson, who opposed this appointment and inveighed strenuously against the *political principles* and conduct of Franklin, eulogized him as a man. The power of party and prejudice separated for a time these two statesmen and patriots and distorted truth and perverted judgment. Franklin was more than restored to public confidence. He was the advocate and signer of the Declaration of Independence, and amongst those who refused to affix his name to this instrument was the virtuous, patriotic, able, but irresolute John Dickinson. This want of firmness at this crisis turned the tide of public sentiment, for a time, against him, while Franklin was elevated to the highest place in public estimation."

Wilson being then from Cumberland. Mr. Wilson, as has been stated, was of Scotch nativity, while Col. Smith and Mr. Taylor were Irishmen, all of whom had long been in the province and identified with its best interests, and were ready to jeopard all that was dear to them in defense of the liberties and independence of their adopted country. Amongst the other signers of the Declaration of Independence were a number of Scotch or Irish nativity or their immediate descendants.

"The spirit of the Presbyterian ministers on the side of American independence was exemplified by Rev. John Witherspoon, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton College, of Scotch nativity and education and eminent for talents, learning, and eloquence. He was a member of Congress when the Declaration of Independence was reported, and was before the House for the signature of its members. Some seemed to waver, and deep and solemn silence reigned throughout the hall. This venerable man, casting on the Assembly a look of inexpressible interest and unconquerable determination, remarked: 'That noble instrument on your table, which insures immortality to its author, should be subscribed this very morning by every pen in the House. He who will not respond to its accents and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions is unworthy the name of a freeman. Although these gray hairs must descend into the sepulcher, I would infinitely rather they should descend thither by the hand of the public executioner than desert at this crisis the sacred cause of my country. The patriarch sat down, and forthwith the Declaration was signed by every member present.'" (Rev. S. S. Templeton.)

By the Declaration of Independence the Rubicon was passed. There was no way of honorable retreat or door open for safe reconciliation. The prospect before the American freemen was a struggle that was awfully fearful. The contest was one of liberty and life, against death and subjection. There were no halfway measures. It was for every American to choose which side he would take, whether on the side of American liberty and independence or that of a royal and despotic master. Some faltered, were undecided, and watched to know the end of the terrible beginning. Others, who had been basking in royal favor, or whose associations had been with men in high places, joined

the enemy, and were proclaimed traitors under a load of infamy they could never remove from their characters.

Men and arms were now required to fill up and strengthen the American army, which was sadly reduced and was both imperfectly equipped and scantily provided. To supply the deficiency, Congress, while independence was in agitation before them, called for from Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland ten thousand men, of whom Pennsylvania was to furnish six thousand, to constitute a flying camp for the protection of New Jersey. At the same time a requisition of near fourteen thousand more were required from New England, New York, and New Jersey for the general defense.

The spirit in Pennsylvania that induced the Declaration of Independence was no less vigorous after that responsible act. It did not evaporate in memorials, resolutions, or speeches; but buckled on its armor to meet the enemies of the country. From the eastern and interior portions of the province the requisition of Congress was promptly met by their men in arms, in companies, battalions, and regiments. The Scotch-Irish settlements were at once thinned of their brave, hardy, and patriotic freemen. To notice their divisions, commanders, and numbers would extend too much our remarks for this article. The Cumberland Valley (though more remote, and not free from Indian alarm occasioned by savage incursions through the western mountains into the adjoining county of Bedford, then having but a small and sparse population), with an alacrity to be admired, furnished its volunteers in companies under the command of officers of their choice, ready to obey the commands of their country in whatever battlefield or post of danger to which they might be called. In a letter from the committee of Cumberland County to the President of Congress, dated at Carlisle, July 14, 1776, it is stated: "By the intelligence we have already received we think ourselves warranted to say that we shall be able to send *five* companies—viz., one from each battalion—to compose part of the flying camp, provided so many good arms can be had, and three companies of militia for the present emergency, some of whom will march this week. With pleasure we assure you that a noble spirit appears among the inhabitants here. The spirit of marching to the defense of our country is so prev-

alent in this town that we shall not have men left sufficient to mount guard, which we think absolutely necessary for the safety of the inhabitants and ammunition, and as a watch over the ten English officers, with their ten servants to keep their parole of honor, especially as their brethren lately at Lebanon, in Lancaster County, lost it; and as there will not be more left in town for the above purpose, we shall be obliged to hire a guard of twelve men from the county." *

In a letter from the same committee to Congress dated at Carlisle July 31, 1776, it is said: "The inhabitants have voluntarily and very generally offered their services, and by the answers which we have received from the officers it appears to us that eleven companies will be sufficiently armed and accoutered, and the last of them marched from this place, in about a week from this time. Three companies more are preparing if they can get arms, and many more declare themselves willing to march; but we are well assured that arms are not to be got in this county. If arms and accouterments are to be had at Philadelphia, we can send more men." †

In a letter from the same committee to Congress from Carlisle, dated August 16, 1776, it is stated that "the *twelfth* company of our militia are marched to-day, which companies contain in the whole eight hundred and thirty-three privates, with officers, nearly nine hundred men. Six companies more are collecting arms, and are preparing to march." ‡

At the time these volunteers from the Cumberland Valley were pressing forward in surprising numbers it is to be recollected that from this district there were then in the continental army a number of officers, as well as rank and file, who the year preceding had entered the army, and were still absent in the military service of their country.

* "American Archives," Fifth Series, Vol. 1, p. 328.

† Ibid., p. 619.

‡ Ibid., 994. The companies marching from Cumberland County in August, 1776, were commanded by Capt. John Steel, Samuel Postlethwaite, Andrew Galbreath, Samuel McCune, Thomas Turbott, James McConnel, William Huston, Thomas Clark, John Hutton, Robert Culbertson, Charles Lecher, Conrad Schnider, Lieut. Col. Frederick Watts. Other Captains were preparing to march. ("American Archives," Fifth Series, Vol. 1, p. 619.)

Was there anywhere in the colonies more patriotism, resolution, and bravery than was thus evinced on a call to arms by the hardy, intelligent citizen soldiers of this Scotch-Irish settlement? Their territory and dwellings were in no danger of invasion, or of being trodden by a hostile army. Distance, intervening forests, rugged roads, and large water courses were obstacles not to be encountered by an enemy who were dependent on their ships for their supplies and their safe retreat in case of reverses.

The freemen of this extensive valley did not at this crisis hold back their movements, either in time or numbers, for forced requisitions, in retaliation for the indifference manifested by the citizens of the eastern border of the province of Pennsylvania, for sufferings and privations of the inhabitants of their valley, when for years they were exposed to the merciless cruelties of savage enemies, aided and instigated by French power; though they could not forget that their repeated supplications to the provincial government for measures of defense and protection, during the Indian wars that were laying waste their settlements with fire and the blood of women and children, were either disregarded or met by tardy and inefficient provision by the government whose legislation was under the control then of the representatives of Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks. The brave and hardy men of the Cumberland Valley, who had for ten years been exercising their strength and vigor to repair the waste and desolation of their homes and property, from which many had been driven, and for years compelled to seek for their families safety in the counties of Lancaster and York, did not allow themselves to think of resentment or retaliation when the enemy of their country was menacing their State. These patriotic men were too magnanimous and generous in the hour of danger and public necessity to speak or think of old wrongs committed against them by their fellow-citizens or their late government. But a few days were required to arrange their affairs, collect their arms and plain accouterments, when they marched forth, with drawn swords and shouldered arms, to meet the public enemy, wherever commanded, either on Pennsylvania soil, on the plains of New Jersey, or elsewhere.

The Presbyterian element was still not only the predominant but almost the universal one in this valley. Its influence at this juncture was pervading and powerful in behalf of the liberties and independence of the country. The tendency of the Presbyterian influence was to a republican government, to which, in its organization of ministerial purity and workings, it was most analogous. This was manifested by the early movements of Presbyterian communities in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina advocating independence by the American colonies of the British government, and the declaration of that independence. It was also manifested by the prompt, zealous, active, and praiseworthy coöperation of Presbyterians, by their voluntary enrollment to form and maintain the army of the revolution and the independence of the colonies.

The company in the lead in July, 1776, from Carlisle was that under the command of Rev. Capt. John Steele, the pastor of the Presbyterian congregation worshiping in or near Carlisle. We have before noticed Mr. Steele as pastor of the Presbyterian Church on West Conococheague, in the same county, during the Indian wars that followed Braddock's defeat. Having received there the appointment of provincial captain, he officiated as the captain of a company of rangers, as well as pastor of a congregation, to whom he preached until they were dispersed by the savages and driven into exile. In these wars he had acquired military training and experience, which were now at the service of his country against the army of his late but now rejected royal master.

The spirit manifested in this valley by its many volunteers had been fostered by the Presbyterian clergymen of the congregations throughout its extent. While they addressed the people as sinners and fallen men on their duties as Christians, they made eloquent appeals to their feelings as citizens in behalf of the liberties and independence of American freemen.

In rousing the spirit of patriotism and resistance there was no Presbyterian clergyman more active and influential than Rev. John King, then pastor on West Conococheague. Many of his addresses and discourses during the exciting times of the revolution were in writing and are preserved; extended extracts

from some of them are given in the "Churches of the Valley," by Rev. Alfred Nevin, which are creditable to Dr. King as a Christian minister and American patriot. His sincerity and zeal were attested by his going with his Church members as their chaplain to the seat of war.

Dr. King was born in Lancaster County, at Chestnut Level, in 1740. His father, Robert King, who resided there, was an emigrant from Ireland and a minister in the Presbyterian Church. Mr. J. King commenced his classical studies under Mr. Smith, and continued them at Newark Academy. He established about 1760 a classical school in the Cumberland Valley on West Conococheague, which he pursued to the education of young men for three years, until the Indian ravages and murders in the settlements disbanded his school. His sister was killed there by the savages. Mr. King, after being compelled to leave the Conococheague settlement on account of the Indian wars and the flight of the inhabitants, returned eastward, and after a short time entered Philadelphia College, then under the care of Drs. William Smith and Francis Allison. While prosecuting his studies in the college he at the same time taught one of the higher classes in the academy, which was connected with it. He graduated in 1766, and was licensed to preach in 1767. In 1792 Dickinson College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He had good talents, which were diligently cultivated. Besides being a good Latin and Greek scholar, he had made himself well acquainted with the Hebrew and French. The natural and exact sciences had received a good deal of his attention, while he was well acquainted with theology and ecclesiastical history. His reputation for ability and learning, with an extensive library, attracted to him young men, whom he received into his family, for the prosecution of their theological studies preparatory to the ministry. Dr. King continued in his pastoral charge from 1769 till 1811, when he resigned on account of ill health and bodily infirmity, having been eminently useful and much beloved and respected.

No less zealous in the cause of independence was Rev. John Craighead, pastor of the Presbyterian congregation at Rocky Spring, near Chambersburg, where he had been ordained in 1768. "Though he did not fail to preach Jesus Christ, the only

Hope of salvation, it is said, after the delivery of this sacred message to fallen and sinful men on one occasion, he exhorted, in eloquent and patriotic strains, the youth of the congregation to rise up and join the noble band then engaged under Washington in struggling to free our beloved country from British oppression. It is related that upon another occasion this patriotic preacher declaimed from the pulpit in such burning and powerful terms against the wrongs they were then suffering that, after one glowing description of the duty of the men, the whole congregation rose from their seats and declared their willingness to march to the conflict." * The members of his congregation did most heroically march, in July, 1776, and joined the American army under the command of Washington in New Jersey, and which he accompanied as chaplain; and with that company was made prisoner at Long Island or Fort Washington. He remained the pastor of this congregation until 1799, the year of his death, "having by his fervent and eloquent ministry been instrumental, under Providence, in winning many souls from darkness and sin to light and life through a merciful Redeemer."

The estimate put on patriotism associated with religious character by the Presbyterian Church in the revolutionary times is attested by the life of Rev. James Crawford, who when a student had been obliged to leave Princeton College without his degree, owing to the interruption of the college exercises by the British army, and being inclined to emigrate south, he carried with him from his pastor, Rev. John Craighead, whom we suppose to have been the ardent Whig of that name referred to in 1777, a certificate of his Church membership, and who appended to it a representation, deemed essential to his credit, and to the hospitality, fellowship, and friendship of the Presbyterian settlements which this student of divinity might visit and where he might be disposed to take up his abode. That addition to the usual certificate was in these words: "And also he appears well affected to the cause of American liberty."†

Rev. Robert Cooper, D.D., pastor of the Presbyterian congregation at Middle Spring, near Shippensburg, was also an ardent Whig, who encouraged the members of his congregation to join

* "Churches of the Valley," p. 185.

† Davidson's "Historical Churches of Kentucky," p. 80.

with arms the standard of their country. His congregation shared his spirit and resolution, and were part of the force of volunteers that marched from Carlisle in August, 1776, accompanied by their brave, patriotic, and pious minister. He returned to his pastoral charge, where he continued to minister acceptably and usefully until 1797, when he resigned. "Dr. Cooper was esteemed a man of sound and strong mind, as well as a divine of great judiciousness and piety." He was one of the committee appointed in 1785 by the Synods of Philadelphia and New York to revise the standards of the Church, which led to the adoption and establishment of the present plan.

That a like patriotic spirit pervaded the Scotch-Irish race of this Presbyterian community is evinced by the number of military companies, sixteen, that volunteered in July, 1776, to sustain by their persons and lives the independence that was proclaimed. One of these companies from the neighborhood of Chambersburg was made up of men of Irish and German nativity and was commanded by Capt. Conrad Schnider, of the German Reformed Church, having for his first lieutenant John Crawford, of Irish nativity and Presbyterian connection.

This valley, with the small adjacent ones known as Path and Sherman's Valleys, continued throughout the revolutionary struggle to furnish from time to time reinforcements of men for the army as the public exigencies required. In the Cumberland Valley almost every man able to carry arms and endure a soldier's life had been in the military service of his country. Some performed more than one tour of service, while others remained in the army under every exposure, trial, good and bad fortune from the beginning of the war till the end of it, when independence was acknowledged and peace proclaimed.

These ready volunteers were farmers of substance, intelligence, and respectability, many of them the heads of families. Some of the officers, as well as the men in the ranks, were ruling elders in the Presbyterian congregations with which they worshiped. Throughout this great valley a Tory, a name applied in revolutionary times to a person opposed to the war and in favor of British claims, was rare, if to be found at all. Not to be zealous in the cause of American independence was a reproach that not only subjected the suspected individual to pub-

lic disfavor, but in some instances brought down upon him the notice or discipline of the Church. The writer of this saw many years since, among the papers of a deceased elder of the Presbyterian Church of Chambersburg, an ancient writing purporting to be a charge preferred to the session of that Church against one of its members, that "*he is strongly suspected of not being sincere in his professions of attachment to the cause of the revolution.*" What action was had on this accusation by the Church court did not appear, and the minutes of the Church of that period were not preserved by the Church officers. It is supposed that the member accused exculpated himself from a charge which in that community was not only disreputable but degrading. This suspected person was well known to the writer as a farmer in the neighborhood who lived in good circumstances on his farm till his death, about 1800, respected as a good and orderly citizen, leaving descendants of influence and distinction.

In the notice by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania of April 12, 1779,* for the sale of the forfeited estates of persons attainted of treason, embracing the names of numbers in Philadelphia and some in several neighboring counties, there was not one in the county of Cumberland. Among those at that time proclaimed *traitors* were Joseph Galloway and Andrew Allen, Esqs. Galloway had been Speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and both had been members of the Congress of 1776, and opposed the Declaration of Independence. And also Jacob Duche, an Episcopal minister of Philadelphia, who, on the nomination of Samuel Adams, a stiff Congregationalist, had been appointed *chaplain* to the first Continental Congress. When the British General Howe entered Philadelphia, 1778, "Duche was among the traitors that welcomed him into the possession of the capital of the State and had the effrontery of writing and sending a letter to Washington, advising him to give over the ungodly cause in which he was engaged." †

The eminent John Dickinson, who opposed in Congress the Declaration of Independence, as *premature*, yet when it was adopted, and the public resentment had prostrated him, had still a patriotism in his heart that would neither allow him to go

* "Colonial Records," Vol. 9, p. 745. † Hild. Hist., 3, p. 221.

over with his colleagues, Galloway and Allen, to the enemy nor to remain neutral, but at the head of a regiment of which he was colonel he repaired at once to the aid of his country as a part of the flying camp in New Jersey.

The Cumberland Valley furnished to military service in the revolutionary army, from its inhabitants, officers Gen. Armstrong and Irwin, Cols. Magaw, Chambers, Watts, Blair, Smith, Wilson, Montgomery, Buchanan, and others; and majors, captains, and subalterns in numbers too great to be enumerated here, while its soldiers in the rank and file were in number little below the taxables of their district.

The Scotch-Irish settlers, with their immediate descendants, from the counties of Lancaster and York in Pennsylvania gave up to their country in the revolutionary conflict their brave, vigorous, and patriotic men, who in the camp and battlefield were shoulder to shoulder with their Cumberland fellow-soldiers to do and serve as they were commanded.

Officers and men of this race from the counties named accompanied Arnold in the campaign for the invasion of Canada in 1775, which they prosecuted amid hardships, privations, toils, and suffering indescribable through a trackless wilderness of several hundred miles, and joined in the storming of Quebec, in which they were repulsed by an overwhelming British force, under which the brave and gallant Gen. Montgomery, of Irish nativity, fell, mortally wounded, and many were made prisoners.

Other volunteers of the same race from the same counties, overpowered by the superior force of the enemy at Fort Washington, were there made prisoners, and endured for years in and near New York a captivity that was oppressive and cruel to officers and privates, under which many were made victims.

Others of a like national origin from the same places were with the army under Washington when it crossed the Delaware with its floating ice in midwinter and darkness in the vicinity of their exulting and powerful enemy, and marched on the frozen earth with bare and bleeding feet to gain his rear and surprised him by the capture of his Hessian mercenaries when he was reposing in the security that the army of Washington had fled and was dispersed.

Others from the same Scotch-Irish settlements were in that

desperate assault under Gen. Wayne at Stony Point, an almost inaccessible height, defended by a garrison of six hundred men and a strong battery of artillery, which were attacked at midnight by brave American freemen with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, and who carried it without firing a single gun—taking five hundred and forty-three prisoners—being one of the most brilliant exploits of the war.

The same men were also in numbers in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. There were, on a few occasions, trepidation and insubordination among some portion of the Pennsylvania militia, when without discipline or experience they were brought suddenly to encounter the well-trained and well-equipped forces of the enemy that had been long inured to service and the conflict of arms.

Gen. Armstrong, in a communication to the State Executive December, 1777,* while he complains of the conduct of some of the militia of his State, says: "They judge ill of the uses of a body of men who fix their character from a single action, and still worse who brand the whole with the infamous conduct of only part, when others of the same body and on the same occasion have fully evinced their bravery. Taken as a body, the militia have rendered that service which neither the State nor the army could have dispensed with. They have met and skirmished with the enemy as early and as often as others, and, except the battle of Brandywine, of which from their station little fell in their way, *have had a proportional share of success, hazard, and loss of blood.*"

It was not only a hard military service in which the Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania were efficient and distinguished during the revolutionary war, but their men were of eminence and influence in the councils of the national as well as of the State government, during these times that called forth the talents, energies, abilities, bravery, and patriotism of the country. McKean of Philadelphia, Wilson of Cumberland, and Smith of York could as colonels be at the head of their regiments in the army, often to inspire and lead their men as well as to expose themselves in their command against the enemy, and also serve as the representatives of their constituents in Congress. Their

* "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. 6, p. 100.

services in Congress were neither few nor small, and though without the peril of life and blood of the battlefield, they were arduous and of great responsibility. They were all working members, and as members of various committees had committed to them the most important duties and trusts for the public welfare, which were executed by them with a wisdom, intelligence, and judgment that commended them to the Congress and country. In November, 1776, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith were both appointed, with Messrs. Chase, Clymer, and Stockton, by Congress an Executive Committee, who were charged with full powers to carry on the *whole business of the war*; "to devise and execute measures for effectually reënforcing Gen. Washington and obstructing the progress of Gen. Howe's army." This measure showed the unbounded confidence of Congress in the wisdom, judgment, virtue, and firmness of the committee for a delegation to them of the powers of Congress. Col. Smith, with part of the committee, visited the army and Gen. Washington, and were "so impressed with the insuperable difficulties of their task, the importance of the crisis, and the abilities of the commander in chief, with whom alone they were convinced such powers could be advantageously placed."

Col. McKean was the commander of a regiment, a delegate to Congress from Delaware, the President of Congress, and Chief Justice of the State of Pennsylvania, combining at one time all these offices. The papers emanating from the Congress of the colonies and of the States were distinguished for style, ability, moderation, and firmness, as well as for unexampled elevation and dignity of sentiment, and evinced the talents and high character of the members of the body as scholars and statesman. It was a high eulogium of the Congress of 1775 when Lord Chatham declared that, though he had studied and admired the free States of antiquity, the master spirits of the world, yet for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion no body of men could stand in preference to this Congress."

History records no instance of a political body charged with more important public duties and responsibilities than the Congress of the American colonies. It had to organize, in the midst of war and revolution, a new and untried government for the union of thirteen separate colonies. It had to provide for the

military and civil establishments of that government; conduct war against one of the oldest and most powerful governments of the Old World, regulate commerce, create and collect revenue. It had to legislate not only against the public enemy, but also against Tories and traitors within their fold. The men who discharged these trusts with wisdom, integrity, labor, and devotion to their country were men of no common energy, ability, and purity. Our country was one of destiny for great purposes. Among the eminent public men of Pennsylvania during the revolutionary war, as well as in the years preceding, of controversy with the mother country in relation to colonial rights, illegal taxation, and parliamentary usurpation, there was no one more distinguished for his civil and military services and many virtues than Joseph Reed, of the city of Philadelphia, whose active life was one of untiring devotion to the best interests of Pennsylvania and the nation; enjoying the public confidence and regard for ability, integrity, and patriotism to a degree surpassed only by the Father of His Country. He was the military secretary of Washington at Cambridge—adjutant general of the continental army—member of the Congress of the United States, and President of the Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania.* While a kind Providence raised up for the colonies a Washington to direct and command their army, we may believe that the same providential care formed for the times the eminent and virtuous men who composed its early Congress.

The Scotch-Irish element in the several counties of Pennsylvania had during the revolution its full representation in the Executive Council of the State and Assembly, and in having at the head of its judiciary Chief Justice McKean.

* President Reed was of Irish descent, and had selected Philadelphia as his residence in the profession of the law, with all the advantages of education afforded by the institution in the colonies and by an attendance at the Inns of Court for two years. His life and correspondence, edited by his grandson, the Hon. William B. Reed, is one of the most valuable and interesting contributions to our revolutionary history, and more particularly to the participation of Pennsylvania and its citizens in that memorable struggle. It is illustrated and verified by the various correspondence of Washington and other prominent actors in the *times that tried men's souls*. At the early age of forty-four his active and useful life was closed by disease in a constitution worn out in the service of his country.

In those days, requiring clear heads, honest hearts, and sage statesman, we do not find any historical record of elevated character reproaching the Scotch-Irish with being a "hot-headed race, excitable in temper, unrestrainable in passion, invincible in prejudice." They occupied, with public approbation and respect, the high places in the judiciary, the floor of Congress in the committee room, and in the executive government.

The emigration of the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania before the revolution was southward into Virginia and North Carolina. The first public road in the Kittochtinny Valley west of the Susquehanna was laid out in 1735, by order of the Court of Lancaster, from Harris's Ferry on the Susquehanna to the Potomac River at Williams's Ferry in the same valley. The travel and immigration was in that direction for several reasons. The country was more accessible than over the mountains by the traders' or Indians' paths. The country in Pennsylvania west of the Alleghany Mountains was not open to settlement and purchase until 1769, the cession from the Indians being obtained by the proprietaries the preceding year. Settlements had been made in North Carolina by Irish and Scotch immigrants as early as 1730, who had landed at Charleston, S. C., and some in Virginia about the same time. The Kittochtinny Valley south of the Potomac was attractive to settlers as well as what was north of that river. The settlements in that portion of this valley between the Susquehanna and Potomac Rivers were, as before stated, retarded to a considerable extent until 1737, as the purchase of it by the proprietary of Pennsylvania from the Indians was effected only in 1736, after which the Land Office was opened for the sale of lands in the established manner, and the controversy in relation to the Maryland boundary was quieted by the royal order the same year.

The greater security in North Carolina from Indian hostilities induced some of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish settlers to immigrate to the neighborhood of friends or relatives resident in that Southern State. Among those emigrating from the Kittochtinny Valley west of the Susquehanna, which had not then received the name of the Cumberland Valley, was the father of Rev. James Hall, D.D., of Treadwell County, N. C. Dr. Hall was of Scotch-Irish parentage and born in that valley

in 1744 near where Carlisle was afterwards located. Eight years after, his father removed with his family to North Carolina. Dr. Hall, who graduated at Nassau Hall, Princeton, in 1774, became an eminent Presbyterian minister and patriot distinguished for talents, attainments, and usefulness. He gave his powers of mind, body, and estate to the cause of his country. He not only officiated as chaplain in the army, but organized and commanded a military company for some time in the revolutionary war. To enable young men to acquire a knowledge of the sciences who could not afford the expense of attending a Northern college, he, like the elder Tennent in Pennsylvania, established at his own house an "Academy of the Sciences," being himself the sole proprietor and for which he purchased a philosophical apparatus. A large number of eminent men received their scientific education there, besides a number of ministers who studied theology under his direction. His character for talents, piety, and public spirit, his soundness as a theologian, his great facility in imparting instruction, and his well-selected library caused his house to become a school of the prophets, from which came out some of the best ministers of Southern Zion.*

After the acknowledgment of national independence, and permanent relations of peace being established with foreign countries as well as with the Indian tribes, the inhabitants of Cumberland County resumed their industrial occupations in the cultivation of their farms, and the few who were mechanics in their respective employments. The taste for rural life was still the prevailing one, and the occupation preferred was that of agriculture. In this entire valley, from the Susquehanna to the Maryland line, there were, after the close of the revolutionary war, but three villages—viz., Carlisle, Shippensburg, and Chambersburg—containing severally but a few hundred inhabitants. Franklin County, separated from Cumberland County in 1784, had within its entire boundary but one town, Chambersburg, the place of holding the courts and county offices.

The inhabitants of Cumberland County, immediately after the revolutionary war, showing their appreciation of a high grade for the education of young men in science, literature, and theology, turned their attention to the establishment of a col-

* Foote's "Sketches of North Carolina," p. 330.

lege within their bounds. They did not wait to repair the losses and sacrifices to which they had subjected themselves by a military service in distant places during the protracted war for American Independence before they would provide for elevated education. They were ready to act at once in the matter, and this at a time when the government of the State, as well as that of the Confederation, was embarrassed with war debts, want of financial resources, and a confederation of independent States, that was deficient in effective provisions, and in strength was little better than a rope of sand. The people were also called on to meet heavy taxation for local, State, and national purposes, with little or no currency of value, and with very limited resources. Yet the spirit that animated with energy and resolution the men who had encountered the wilderness, defended the frontiers of the colony against the savages and their French allies, and given themselves up to the defense of their country against royal despotism and parliamentary usurpation, induced them to give their energies and perseverance, recruited by a short period of peace, to provide for education by an institution that would be worthy of public confidence and respect. Measures were taken to collect funds for it, and in 1783 a charter was obtained from the Legislature by which the institution was located at Carlisle, and called Dickinson College in commemoration of John Dickinson, President of the Supreme Executive Council of the State, who had been liberal in his donation to it. The first faculty, organized in 1784, consisted of Rev. Charles Nesbit, of Montrose, Scotland, as President; James Ross, Professor of Languages, to which was added the year following Rev. Robert Davidson, D.D., Professor of Belles-Lettres, and Robert Johnston, Instructor of Mathematics. Under the auspices of this faculty and instructors, who were eminently qualified by abilities and learning, and who adopted a high standard of education for their graduates, the college prospered and acquired a high reputation, that attracted to it many students not only from Pennsylvania, but from other States. During the presidency of Dr. Nesbit there graduated many young men of celebrity as lawyers, jurists, and statesmen, in this and other States, and from the teachings of this college and the theological lectures of Dr. Nesbit to classes preparatory to the ministry

there were given to the Presbyterian Church a number of ministers of distinction for talents, acquirements, piety, and usefulness.

This institution sustained a severe loss in the death of Dr. Nesbit in 1804. Dr. Davidson, professor and pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Carlisle, was his successor for four years as President *pro tem.*, when Dr. Atwater was appointed President.

This institution was founded, in a great measure, by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of Cumberland and neighboring counties in Pennsylvania, who, with the ministers of that Church, continued to foster and patronize it for many years, during which it was successful and very useful in giving to the country many well-educated men. It had not been endowed sufficiently to sustain a faculty with the high qualifications desired and demanded. Dr. Atwater and a succession of other Presidents resigned after short terms, which was prejudicial to the interests of the institution, as no one retained the presidency long enough after Dr. Nesbit to give it a decided reputation.

Its first faculty were of Scotch nativity or Irish descent, and Presbyterian in their religious creed, associations, and worship. This predominance of Presbyterianism in the principals and professors was continued, with few exceptions, for a series of years. The majority of its trustees belonged to the same denomination. Though the pervading character of this institution was Presbyterian, yet it was not sectarian in its ruling influence. There was no influence exercised to make proselytes among its students from the ranks of other denominations, and the institution had the respect and confidence of the public as long as there were abilities, learning, and attention in its faculty, and efficiency in its government. The interest of many who had favored it abated, and efforts to sustain it, even by the Presbyterian Church, were relaxed, and for a number of years it continued to languish, with occasional temporary revivals and spasmodic efforts to regain under a new President some of its former vigor and reputation. This was, in a great measure, attributed to the want of attention and interest on the part of its trustees and to dissensions prevailing with that portion of them living in the vicinity to whom, as is usual with literary and

religious institutions, its management was chiefly committed. The trustees of Carlisle and its neighborhood constituted its business board for the management of most of the concerns of the college, and either discouraged by failures of measures adopted to sustain the college or from unhappy dissensions amongst themselves, dividing them, chose to give away the institution, with all its property and corporate privileges, and then abandon their trust by resignation to make their donation effective. There can be no reflection on our Methodist brethren in being parties to the negotiation. This large donation was cast into their lap. They could not well decline it when all the advantages were on their side. Their success was complete, and the Methodist Episcopal Church obtained the control of Dickinson College in 1833, which they have exercised ever since. They have treated it as an institution of their Church by awakening an interest with their denomination to endeavor to endow and sustain it. The zeal, abilities, and perseverance of its trustees and faculty immediately imparted to it the vigor which it wanted, and made it extensively useful in diffusing education.

What was the gain of the Methodist Episcopal Church was the loss of the Presbyterian, whose members and ministers had been the founders and patrons of this institution, and who had given their money, as well as their time, labor, and services, to its establishment and organization.*

The Synod of Philadelphia, within whose bounds this college was, had not the vigilance, activity, and zeal for the preservation of its institutions in which men were to be educated for the ministry that characterized that Synod in its early history, or it would not have closed its eyes to the usefulness of this institution to the Church and State, slumbered over its decline, or have allowed it, with all its property, advantages, and privileges, to be given away to any other religious denomination, however respectable.

* The writer acknowledges himself as one of the remote and delinquent trustees referred to; and, though not one of the board that made the transfer, to which measure he had made known his opposition, and in execution of it, he did not resign, yet he does not exculpate himself on account of absence, as it was his duty to have been present and opposed the measure, with what influence he might possess, if advised of the intended action and was able to attend.

It becomes this ecclesiastical body and the Baltimore Synod to make a vigorous effort to recover their lost ground, retrieve their supineness, and supply for Presbyterian education and influence an institution in Middle Pennsylvania wherein young men may receive a preparatory education that may qualify them for the ministry or learned professions, which induced the establishment in early times, when the country was new, of the Log and other colleges by Presbyterian ministers and the members of the Presbyterian Church.

There are among the descendants of the Scotch-Irish settlers at this time within the bounds of these Synods fourfold the means and resources which their ancestors had when they established colleges which have contributed much to elevate and extend education. The number of Presbyterian Churches in the Cumberland Valley, including Path Valley, when Dickinson College was established, was sixteen; the number at this time within the same bounds is over thirty. Though the Presbyterian worshipers have, in some of the rural congregations in the Cumberland Valley, diminished by reason of the removal of the members west, or to other residences, yet this has been much more than supplied by new and additional Presbyterian churches in the towns and villages of the same valley. Such an institution established west of the Susquehanna, in Middle Pennsylvania, would be incalculably useful without interfering with or prejudicing kindred institutions of like character on the eastern or western borders of our great State.

CHAPTER V.

Instrumentality of the Scotch-Irish Schools and Seminaries in Pennsylvania in the Education of Young Men for Usefulness in Other Colonies
 —In Virginia: Robinson, Davies, Waddell, the Messrs. Smith—In North Carolina: McAden, Caldwell—New Jersey: Establishment of Nassau Hall, Princeton—Maryland: Baltimore Church Organization—F. Allison.

It is difficult to measure or estimate the advantages to society and the country from the establishment of the academies and schools of the Tennents, Blairs, Finley, Smith, and Allison in

Eastern Pennsylvania during the early part of the eighteenth century. Many young men were enabled to obtain within those schools an education on terms and in a manner not to be procured anywhere else in the middle colonies; and who, without such facilities, must have been withheld from the intellectual education they desired, and which was necessary to elevate them to stations of distinction and public usefulness.

Young men of good and studious habits, with abilities of a high order and respectability, sought these seminaries, and in the plain buildings appropriated to education, under the teaching and direction of these eminent and faithful instructors, acquired an amount of knowledge that deservedly gave them the reputation of scholars in classical literature and mathematical proficiency, whilst those pursuing their theological studies preparatory to the ministry testified by their attainments, success, and eminent usefulness that their labors had been well directed and improved not only to their advantage as candidates but to that of extending religious influence as well as moral and intellectual education.

From the Log College of the Tennents first emanated men, some of whom were to be shining lights of the age in the gospel ministry, and who devoted their talents and attainments to proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ. Others combined with the ministry the office of teacher in seminaries established in other localities after the model of the original Log College.

The influence of these seminaries established, conducted, and maintained in the early history of the province by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian ministers, was of inestimable usefulness to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. They gave to the rapidly increasing communities, made up of Irish and Scotch immigrants, an educated, zealous, and pious ministry, sound in the faith, and a Church organization by Presbyters that was to the desire and acceptance of the great mass of the people. In the same schools the young men of Pennsylvania and of some other colonies received a classical and scientific education that prepared some for high paces in the medical profession, while others were educated there, preparatory to the study of the law, and acquired deservedly the reputation and places of jurists, lawyers, and statesmen.

From these fountains of education issued streams of knowledge that flowed beyond the bounds of Pennsylvania into other colonies. Young men of talents, learning, and piety from these schools were the instruments in the hands of Divine Providence of carrying to the destitute districts of neighboring and distant colonies the means and facilities of improved education and a pious and evangelical ministry. Amongst these instruments of early missionary labor was Rev. William Robinson, who was sent as an evangelist by the Presbytery of New Castle in the winter of 1742-43, in consequence of the earnest solicitations of the people, to visit the Presbytery settlements in the valley of the Shenandoah, and some parts of Virginia, then destitute of a ministry. He entered on his mission with zeal and perseverance, and though incommoded and obstructed on entering Virginia by intolerance and arrest for preaching without a license from the Governor, he was permitted to proceed to North Carolina, and on his return preached in Hanover County, Va., the first sermon heard there from a Presbyterian minister. He continued preaching four days, successively, to large and increasing audiences, with a power and success in awakening the careless and instructing the ignorant that was wonderful and unprecedented, and with impressions that were lasting and permanent, and to the conversion of many. His engagements elsewhere to visit the destitute districts in Virginia, soliciting the preaching of the gospel by a minister of sound and practical piety, took him from Hanover. The audiences that had heard his discourses there with so much interest and profit proposed to remunerate him for his services, which he declined. The money raised was, without his knowledge, put into his saddlebags by the gentleman at whose house he lodged. When he afterwards discovered it, he refused to appropriate it to his own use, though his means were small, and applied it to aid Samuel Davies, then a student at Fagg's Manor, Pennsylvania, pursuing his studies for the ministry under the care of Rev. Samuel Blair. By an inscrutable Providence, whose ways are those of infinite wisdom and past the finding out of short-sighted men, Mr. Robinson, this eminent and faithful steward of his Lord and Master, was removed from his labors on earth in April, 1746. He was a martyr, it was believed, to the labors he voluntarily endured

for the cause of Christ in Virginia and North Carolina. He bequeathed his library to his young friend, protégé, and fellow-laborer, Rev. Samuel Davies, on whom his mantle may be supposed to have fallen.*

Next in order of time we may name Rev. Samuel Davies, already alluded to. He was of Welsh descent and born in New Castle County, Delaware, then Pennsylvania. Having been licensed by the Presbytery of New Castle in 1745, he visited Virginia, and located himself permanently there in 1748 in the county of Hanover, where his friend, Rev. Mr. Robinson, had as a pioneer assisted in opening the way for gospel instruction and ordinances some years before. Mr. Davies, in eloquence, piety, and learning had no superior, was called "the prince of preachers," and acquired a greater influence than any other preacher in Virginia ever possessed. From this field of labor and usefulness Mr. Davies was withdrawn by his election to the presidency of the College of New Jersey in 1759, where he continued until his death, in 1761, at the age of thirty-seven.

James Waddell, distinguished in Virginia history and literature as a scholar and orator, eminent for eloquence and piety, was brought in 1739 from Ireland, an infant in the arms of his mother, to Pennsylvania, selected by his parents as their place of abode. Having been disabled in the use of his hand by an accidental blow from an ax in the hand of a brother, his parents, in consequence of his disability, were induced to seek for him a liberal education, for which his powers of mind were admirably adapted. His progress at the "Log College" of Dr. Finley, at Nottingham, was rapid. His attainments in the Greek and Latin studies were of so high an order as to occasion his promotion, when a youth, to the office of Tutor in the Nottingham Academy, as well as in that of Rev. Robert Smith, of Pequea, of Lancaster County. Having acquired great proficiency in his studies, at the age of nineteen he removed from Pennsylvania southward, and on his way formed the acquaintance of Rev. Samuel Davies in Virginia, where he was induced to remain, taking charge of a classical school of Louisa, and commenced the studies preparatory for the sacred ministry in Virginia, which thenceforth became his

* Foote's "Sketches of Virginia."

home. In 1761 he was licensed by the Presbytery, and in the same year several calls were put into his hands from vacant Churches in Virginia, and also one from the neighborhood of York, Pa., and of the many promising fields of labor as a minister, presented to him, he made choice of the lower part of the great Northern Neck, in Virginia, between the rivers Potomac and Rappahannock. His interesting, useful, and successful labors as a minister in the Northern Neck were ended in the early part of the revolutionary war, by his removal to the valley of the Shenandoah in 1778, occasioned by the immigration of leading persons in his congregations to the mountainous regions, and his impaired health from bilious attacks in the Northern Neck. The call of Gen. Green for aid to resist Cornwallis in his invasion was responded to promptly by the Scotch-Irish members of Mr. Waddell's pastoral charge, who, before their departure for the camp, met them in arms and preached to them a pastor's farewell, which to many were the last words they ever heard from the lips of their revered pastor.

Mr. Waddell's great affliction was an incurable blindness. Though blind, he was devoted to books, his wife and children spending hours daily in reading to him. Owing to this, his powers of mind were not impaired by his loss of sight, and he retained his usual flow of spirits, which often rose to hilarity. He never declaimed in the pulpit, but prepared his exercises for that place with study.

The graphic description by the eminent and eloquent Wirt of Waddell, the blind preacher, is indelibly impressed on the pages of Virginia history. It has been compared to the poems of Homer, which immortalized the writer as well as his hero. Mr. Waddell died in 1805 with great Christian serenity, universally beloved, and his body was carried to the grave by his servants, who performed this last service with reverence and grief.

Virginia was also indebted to the same schools for the distinguished and learned Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith and Rev. John Blair Smith, D.D., brothers of Irish descent, born and educated at the log academy of their father, Robert Smith, D.D., in the county of Lancaster, Pa., and graduates of

the College of New Jersey, at Princeton. Rev. S. S. Smith, having been licensed by the New Castle Presbytery, visited Virginia in 1771 as a missionary, when he at once saw the necessity for a literary institution in Virginia, and aided and encouraged the efforts of Hanover Presbytery to call it into being. He became the projector and founder of Hampden Sidney College in that colony. Notwithstanding the exciting times of the revolution in 1775, Mr. Smith, with the aid of this Presbytery, proceeded to collect funds for the establishment of the projected literary institution. "The Presbytery, it is stated, proceeded to take steps to have Mr. Smith settled as a preacher as well as a teacher, according to the spirit of the 'Log College,' in Pennsylvania, which had been so rich in blessings on Virginia." Mr. Smith was chosen rector of the infant institution, then called the academy of Prince Edward, and shortly after of Hampden Sidney College, and also installed pastor of the united congregations of Cumberland and Prince Edward. Among the trustees selected for this humble institution of Presbyterian origin and Scotch-Irish affinities were James Madison, Jr., afterwards Chief Magistrate of the United States, and Patrick Henry, the distinguished orator and Governor of Virginia.

The college was organized by the appointment of Mr. John B. Smith, brother of the principal, as first assistant, and Mr. Samuel Doak as second assistant. From the increase of students, beyond expectation, Mr. David Witherspoon was appointed third assistant. Hampden Sidney went on prosperously, increasing in reputation and usefulness, having one hundred and ten students the first summer, notwithstanding the revolutionary contest.

The terms of this academy, when opened in 1776, were £8 for board and for washing and bed £3 per year. So great was the desire of the youth of the Scotch-Irish race of Virginia to avail themselves of the advantages to be enjoyed in education, under the teachings of the Messrs. Smith at their Log College, that there was a scarcity of apartments for their accommodation, and while the new academy building was in rapid progress many of the students erected small temporary huts with the shingles prepared for the academy. In these they were packed closely,

and with a plank for three or four boys to sit upon they diligently pursued their studies till a late hour of the night. From the difficulty of obtaining board and lodging for the numbers that thronged for admission, Messrs. N. Venable and P. Carrington, public men of eminence, honored for their patriotism and religion, built houses for their sons to occupy.

The Messrs. Smith, from Pennsylvania, with the aid of the friends of liberty and religious and moral education in Virginia, in revolutionary times surmounted obstacles that would now be deemed appalling, and excited an enthusiasm seldom equaled to establish in that State a seminary of learning for the higher branches of education, after the model of the unpretending but useful log colleges of Pennsylvania.

In 1779 Rev. Samuel S. Smith, having had an invitation from the trustees of New Jersey College to accept the office of Professor of Moral Philosophy in that institution, with the approbation of the Presbytery, accepted and shortly after was made President of the same institution. His brother, Rev. John Blair Smith, was appointed his successor of Hampden Sidney, under whose presidency this college, on the model of the Log College of Pennsylvania, prospered both in its theological and literary department, in a manner never surpassed in succeeding years. The President, having also accepted the call of the Churches of Cumberland and Briery, united the offices of pastor with the presidency of college and the professor of theology, embracing work for three men, and giving a Christian spirit to the efforts for the education of youth. With him men of the greatest probity and of the highest public estimation and private worth were associated in the direction of this seminary, "where the purest sentiments of religion and patriotism were inculcated in a most efficient manner."

"President Smith's preaching," says Dr. Hill, "was of the most animating, pungent, practical character, feeling close for the conscience and applying the truth home to the heart."

Dr. Hoge, who was President of the same college, in speaking of Dr. J. B. Smith, said: "A preacher possessing every ministerial qualification in a degree so eminent I have never known; nor do I ever expect again to hear a preacher whose discourses will be equally calculated for the learned and unlearned, the

rich and the poor, the devout Christian and the abandoned profligate; in a word, every character and description of men. Methinks I still see him stand the accredited ambassador of the great King of kings and Lord of lords, while every feature and every muscle of his face, every word and action, as well as the lightning of his eyes, seem to bespeak a soul on fire." *

The Declaration of American Independence by the Congress of the colonies in 1776 animated the citizens, young or old, of Virginia as it did their kinsmen in Pennsylvania, and many offered themselves as soldiers to redeem the pledge "*of their fortunes and sacred honor*" in the maintenance of that independence. "Engaged as the students were in Hampden Sidney College in the pursuit of their studies, their hearts were warm on the side of American liberty, and with the arts and sciences they exercised in military training and in the rudiments of war. Rev. John Blair Smith, the first assistant of this institution, and afterwards its President, was chosen captain of a company of students, about sixty-five in number, over seventeen years of age; Mr. D. Witherspoon, second assistant, their lieutenant; and Mr. S. Venable, their ensign. The students were uniformed—viz., a hunting shirt dyed purple—and every student, although under sixteen years of age, was mustered every month."

In 1777 there was a requisition from the Governor for a company of militia from Prince Edward County to oppose an expected invasion from the British. All the students of this college above sixteen years of age, with the advice of their President, Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, exchanged their numbers for No. 1, with the militia of the county, and marched to Williamsburg, under their officers, to obey the Governor's orders.

After the battle of the Cowpens, in 1781, the excitement in the Southern country was great, when Morgan and Green were retreating before the superior army of Cornwallis, Capt. Morton having in two days raised a company of his neighbors to join Green. Rev. John Blair Smith, then President of Hampden Sidney College, set out at once to join the company of Capt. Morton, which he overtook in Halifax. The Captain earnestly entreated him to return to Prince Edward, urging that he could serve the cause more at home by his exciting patriotic speeches than

* Dr. Foote's "Sketches of Virginia."

by his presence in camp. Worn out by fatigue, the President returned to the college. "Peter Johnson, about sixteen years of age, the son of the donor of the land on which the college was built, offered himself and was rejected as under age and under size. He nevertheless procured a horse and offered himself to Lee, and was with some hesitation received. He served during that momentous campaign with great honor, taking a part in several actions, besides the decisive one of Guilford C. H. He was, in after life, a judge of eminence in his native State." *

The college suffered from the calamities of a protracted war, which, with its desolation and alarms, was carried into its very neighborhood, and students, in defense of the liberties of their country, gave up their books for war implements, and from their schoolrooms repaired to the ranks of the revolutionary army. "When the war was over the college was in a depressed state. The enthusiasm for education was somewhat abated among the people at large; objects of ambition and speculation, and the repair of broken fortunes and ruined estates, engrossed the great body of the people. They were still patriots to appreciate the immeasurable importance of the universal dissemination of knowledge, pure morality, and religion for the preservation of the political liberty and its advantages acquired by the arms of freemen." The friends of Hampden Sidney after the war applied for and obtained from the Legislature in 1783 a charter for the academy, under the name of a college, with its privileges and powers. Dr. Hill says that "after the capture of Cornwallis and his army the students returned to college, and Dr. Smith entered *de novo* upon his various and responsible duties. The number of students continued to increase until the rooms in the college were as full as they well could contain."

In 1789 Mr. Smith resigned the presidency of the college, and gave himself entirely to the work of the ministry.†

For men of great magnitude and brightness to illumine the darkness of her colonial destitution, Virginia was greatly indebted to the Scotch-Irish race of Pennsylvania and the seminaries under the care and teachings of their Presbyterian ministers, men of the same origin or descent, being born or receiving their

* Dr. Foote's "Sketches of Virginia," p. 403.

† Ibid., p. 406.

early education in Pennsylvania, which was afterwards pursued at the college of New Jersey to the procurement of a degree. This was followed by theological studies for the ministry, which obtained for them the license of a Presbytery, under whose care they were, and became missionaries to the South. Some of them were instrumental, with others, in establishing in Virginia a seminary of learning which afterwards became Washington College at Lexington.

North Carolina, as an American colony, was early debtor to the Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania for supplies by an elevated and pious ministry to their destitute Presbyterian congregations, made up chiefly of emigrants from Ireland and Scotland directly and others from the same countries after a residence for a time in Virginia or Pennsylvania. From the same source were received their pioneers in the establishment of classical and scientific schools for the education of the young men of the colony in the higher branches of knowledge.

Among the first was Rev. Hugh McAden, born in Pennsylvania of Irish descent, a graduate of Nassau Hall, receiving his instruction in theology under the direction of Rev. John Blair. In 1755 he was licensed by the New Castle Presbytery, in which year as a missionary he visited the Presbyterian settlements of North Carolina, and preached to many congregations the first sermon they had heard in the colony. In 1759, being ordained, he accepted a pastoral charge in North Carolina, and labored faithfully and acceptably for many years till his death.

He was followed in a few years by the eminent and learned Rev. David Caldwell, D.D., who combined in himself the sound and pious minister of the gospel with the profound, accomplished, and successful instructor of young men. He was born in Lancaster County, Pa., in 1725, and pursued his preparatory course of studies under the tuition of Rev. Robert Smith, of Pequea, in that county, distinguished for his usefulness and as the father of sons, educated under his care, who were at the same time Presidents of the College of New Jersey and Hampden Sidney. Mr. Caldwell graduated at Princeton in 1761, where he engaged for a time as a tutor and in the study of theology. Being licensed and ordained by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, he became a missionary to some vacant congrega-

tions in North Carolina that had solicited supplies from the Synod of Philadelphia. In some of these congregations were acquaintances and friends who a few years before had removed into that colony. In 1768 he accepted a pastoral charge there and commenced a classical school, where he continued until the infirmities of age disqualified him as teacher. This school was the second classical school of permanence, and perhaps the first in usefulness, in the upper part of Carolina. The instruction in this school was thorough, and it flourished, being instrumental during the long period of its continuance in bringing more men into the learned professions than any other taught by a single individual or by a succession of teachers during the same period of time. Five of his scholars became Governors of States, a number were promoted to high places in the judiciary, about fifty became ministers of the gospel, and a large number were physicians and lawyers. He was of the most studious habits, his thoughts always exalted to the true dignity of his work, and where led by convictions of duty and a desire to be useful he was untiring in labor, persevering and inflexible from his purpose. Most, if not all, of his students received their entire classical education from him, so that for a time his school was academy, college, and theological seminary.*

"Living in the exciting times of the revolution, with the royal army at his door, he was an ardent Whig. So great was his influence on the side of American independence that he became obnoxious to Lord Cornwallis and his officers. Dr. Caldwell's residence was but a few miles from Guilford C. H., and his congregations were harassed by the plunderings and cruelties of the needy and irritated army of Cornwallis, which were endured by a patriotic people with a constancy and bravery to be admired and held in grateful remembrance. The house of this eminent patriot and minister of the gospel on the Sabbath was plundered, his wife and children turned out of doors, his property stolen, his library and valuable papers burned by the

* It is a gratification to us, and the more so as it is rare in these days, to find a descendant of the Puritans, as the Rev. W. Henry Foote in his "Sketches of North Carolina and Virginia," exhibit a spirit of liberality and justice to the Scotch-Irish race, who form a large portion of the population of those States, and who, for intelligence, integrity, patriotism, and religious character, have received, as they deserved, high commendation.

royal army. A purse of £200 was set by his lordship on the Doctor's head to any one who would bring him in a prisoner. But the camp of Gen. Green saved him from the ferocious enemy.

The useful life of Dr. Caldwell was prolonged by Providence till August, 1824, when he departed this life at the age of ninety-nine years. His pastoral services were continued until 1820, his ninety-fourth year, he requiring assistance from weakness on his return home to dismount from his horse, and to be carried into his house."

Others might be named of Scotch-Irish nativity in Pennsylvania who, after receiving an education in her log colleges, which was afterwards extended at Nassau Hall, Princeton, were missionaries of education as well as of the gospel to the Scotch-Irish settlements of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, where their labors were blessed with extensive usefulness.

New Jersey was indebted chiefly to the founders and patrons of the log colleges of Eastern Pennsylvania for the establishment of the College of Nassau Hall at Princeton, in the infancy of that colony, which did more to distinguish and benefit it than any other institution ever created within its bounds. It was of Scotch-Irish origin, and was nursed and fostered into great usefulness and celebrity by the men of Irish and Scotch nativity or descent in Pennsylvania. Though in Maryland Presbyterian congregations had been formed on the Eastern Shore, as well as in Baltimore County, in the early part of the eighteenth century, yet they were small and languished, as the influx of immigrants of that denomination would seem to have preferred other colonies for their settlements. Settlers or citizens of enterprise were attracted from the counties of Cumberland and Lancaster, Pa., in 1760, to Baltimore town, then containing thirty or forty houses and about three hundred inhabitants. These immigrants were Presbyterians of Irish or Scotch descent. They organized themselves into a congregation and invited Rev. Patrick Allison, as before briefly noticed, as a supply for one year. Mr. Allison was a native of Lancaster County, Pa., the son of Irish parents, and received his classical and preparatory education at the Philadelphia Academy, where he was engaged for some time as an assistant teacher.

Mr. Allison accepted the charge, and in 1765 was fully or-

dained to the pastoral office by the Presbytery of Philadelphia. Mr. Allison was a man of learning and piety. The matter of his sermons was rich and instructive, and his style clear and nervous. He was especially distinguished in the Church courts, and Dr. Miller has said of him that in debate he had scarce an equal. He died in 1802, having served this congregation nearly forty years. This congregation, from a little handful that organized it and called Mr. Allison, during his ministry became one of the largest and most influential in the country. Mr. Allison was also prominent in every effort in his day to promote morality, education, and liberty in Maryland.

CHAPTER VI.

Southwestern Pennsylvania—Its Early Settlements—Controversy with Virginia as to Boundary—Purchase by Proprietary of Indian Claim in 1768—Open to Appropriation by Pennsylvania Grants after 1769—Influx of Settlers Restrained by Apprehension of Indian Hostilities and War of Revolution—Boundary with Virginia Settled by Compact—Rapid Progress after the Revolution—Missionaries—Supervision of Philadelphia and New York Synod—Messrs. Power, McMillan, Smith, Dod, and others—Toil and Sacrifices—Success in Organization of Presbyterian Congregations—Redstone Presbytery—Seminaries of Learning—Public Men: St. Clair, Brackenridge, Ross, Addison, Gallatin, Findlay—Western Insurrections—Peace and Order—Literary and Theological Institutions—Improvements and Increase of Population—Extent of District—Religion and Morals of People.

THE great district of Pennsylvania, for the development of the Scotch-Irish character in its energies, enterprise, religious and moral principles, as well as its educational tendencies and usefulness, was Southwestern Pennsylvania.

The first settlements by the whites in Pennsylvania west of the Alleghany Mountains, on lands bordering on the Ohio, Monongahela, Youghiogeny, and Alleghany Rivers and their tributaries, were shortly before and after Braddock's defeat in 1755. These were chiefly under grants or permits from the Governor or authorities of the colony of Virginia, which claimed the

country on these waters, embracing the locality of Pittsburg, then called Fort Duquesne, occupied by a French garrison. Some emigrants from Maryland had also settled in the same country.

Those who settled in that attractive and fertile district under a claim of Pennsylvania jurisdiction before 1769 did so in contravention of public law, as those lands had not been purchased by the proprietary of Pennsylvania from the Indians until by the treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1768, and were not open to purchase, settlement, or appropriation, under the laws of Pennsylvania, until after that purchase.

Yet there were adventurous and restless spirits from Pennsylvania and elsewhere east of the Alleghany Mountains, who, contrary to law and in defiance of the proclamation of the Governor of Pennsylvania and public magistrates, presumed to make settlements to a limited extent in this Western country, likely to be overrun by settlers claiming under Virginia. By that colony and its authorities the Indian claim was not regarded, and their laws allowed the grants to individuals of land in quantities as desired and at prices less than one-tenth of that fixed by the proprietary of Pennsylvania as the price of vacant land within his province.

These settlements were in 1768, and shortly before the subject of complaints by the Western Indians, both to the proprietary of Pennsylvania as well as the provincial government of that colony. A law of excessive severity was passed by its Legislature in 1768, subjecting to *capital* punishment the offense of a settlement on lands unpurchased by the proprietary from the Indian claimants. The Governor of Pennsylvania, in February, 1768, issued a proclamation requiring settlers to remove from these lands, informing them of the penalties to which they were subject, and appointed Rev. John Steele and others of Cumberland County commissioners on behalf of the government and proprietary, to visit the settlements, carry with them and distribute the proclamation, require the settlers to remove, and warn them of the consequences if they did not to themselves from the Governor's prosecution and Indian hostilities. The commissioners proceeded at once to visit these settlements for the purpose required, and in April, 1768, reported to the Gov-

ernor that there were but about one hundred and fifty families on the different settlements on Redstone, Youghiogheny, and Cheat Rivers, which they visited, and in which they made known the law and requisitions of the government, but to little purpose as respected the removal of the settlers, who generally were inclined to take their chances of hostilities from the Indians with whom the proprietary agents were understood to be then negotiating for the purchase of their claim to the lands on those waters. The requisitions of the Governor and the penalties of the law seem to have had but little regard in the consideration of the settlers. The excessive severity of the law rendered it inoperative. No one supposed that the government or any authority under it would attempt to carry into execution a law subjecting to the punishment of death a settler for the offense of putting up a cabin for the residence of his family, and clearing and cultivating some fertile land as the means of supporting that family in an extensive wilderness, because an Indian tribe of hunters, living in their wigwams at a distance of one hundred miles or more, made claim to half the province for their hunting ground until they received some remuneration for their release. They did not consider their offense as *mala in se*, but prohibited from considerations of public policy, on which public sentiment was divided. The Governor of Virginia had by proclamation at the same time required the removal of settlers under Virginia claims from the disputed territory, but with no better success.

The settlers in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt by the permission of George Croghan, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and those who had settled on the main roads leading across the mountains to Fort Pitt by permits from the commanders and other officers of the army for the convenience of the army, its reinforcements and supplies, were exempt from the penalties of the law and the requisitions of the public magistrates.

The Indian claim being removed by the purchase of the proprietary at Fort Stanwix, November 5, 1768, these lands were open to settlement, grants, or appropriations under Pennsylvania, which now progressed more rapidly, though obstructed by interference of settlers under Virginia, and the uncertainty of title in this conflict of jurisdiction between the two colonies.

The settlements, however, were extended in a country attractive for fertility of soil, with all the advantages of climate, water, and timber. Emigrants from the east side of the mountains could reach it only by a long journey over lofty mountains by rugged roads scarcely passable for any wheeled carriage, conveying their families on pack horses, with their supplies of clothing and bedding. Yet before the revolution and pending that war many families of substance, intelligence, religious and moral character overcame obstacles which would seem insurmountable in making their way to an abode on the choice lands of South-western Pennsylvania. When these adventurous and resolute emigrants got to the end of their journey, it was to settle in the wilderness with a log cabin for their dwelling, neighbors few and far between, separated from Eastern friends and relatives by mountain ranges, a barrier to an interchange of visits, except at great intervals; without the comforts and conveniences enjoyed by Eastern friends, and remote from all seminaries of education, and where the worship of their Heavenly Father by an assembled congregation was in the open air, with the firmament for a canopy, and for their seats the bare earth or the rough logs of the forest.

These settlements, during the revolutionary war and for years after, were exposed to the hostilities of the Indians, who frequently by their stealthy marches surprised and alarmed the inhabitants, often marking their way by fire and the massacre of families. The conflict of jurisdiction between the two States in the exercise of the powers of government obstructed the administration of justice, incommoded the inhabitants, and led to contests and arrests between the officers of these border States that were harassing to both.

In 1779 the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia agreed to terminate this unprofitable controversy by an extension of Mason and Dixon's line west as a boundary, saving to all persons previously acquired rights under the laws and usages of these States, according to priority, which was executed and ratified. By the boundary provided for and established the large district of fine country in dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania was permanently assigned to Pennsylvania as her territory.

The early settlers who had located within this district under

either of these governments were with few exceptions of Scotch and Irish nativity or descent. Having a common origin and associations, they were much alike in principles and habits, agreeing in their religious professions and doctrines, devoted to the principles of the Protestant reformation, choosing and maintaining the Presbyterian Church organization as that most approved by them. Amongst these Presbyterians there were some slight shades of difference to separate them, chiefly on psalmody, which led to the organization of separate and distinct ecclesiastical judicatories that are yet maintained, though agreeing in having a common standard of doctrine and creed, as well as of Church government, contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith, with its Church rules and Catechisms.

The Synod of Philadelphia and New York did not overlook the settlers who had taken up their abode in the wilderness west of the Alleghanies, and at an early day provision was made by them to have these distant settlements on the frontiers supplied with suitable and qualified missionaries licensed and ordained by the Presbytery to the work of the ministry. In 1766 Rev. Charles Beaty, of Irish nativity, who had obtained his classical education in Ireland before his emigration, pursued his studies with a view to the gospel ministry at the Log College at Neshaminy, then under the care of the celebrated William Tennent, and was licensed by the Presbytery of New Brunswick. He was associated with Rev. G. Duffield, a minister of high reputation and experience, to visit the frontier settlement of the Far West region as well as the Indians as missionaries by the appointment of the Synod.

These appointments were continued by this Synod from time to time through a series of twenty years to supply the destitute brethren on the southwestern frontier of Pennsylvania and Virginia, with missionaries not only accredited, but of a high order for talents, learning, piety, and experience in the ministry. Their labors in preaching, catechising, and administering the ordinances of the Church were blessed in organizing congregations amongst the settlers for the maintenance of Christian worship and religious instruction, training, and government. Messrs. Beaty and Duffield, owing to the apprehension of Indian disturbances, were enabled to visit only some of the settle-

ments, and the missions were afterwards renewed, extended, and fulfilled by the labors of Rev. James Finley and others, under the appointments of the Presbyteries of New Castle and Donegal.

The first ordained minister that settled with his family in Western Pennsylvania was Rev. James Power, D.D. He was born in Chester County, Pa., the child of pious parents who had emigrated to the North of Ireland. His education, preparatory to entering college, is believed to have been at Fagg's manor school of that colony under the care of the eminent Rev. John Blair. He graduated at Nassau Hall, Princeton, in 1766, and was licensed by the Presbytery of New Castle in 1772. He labored for several years as a missionary in the Western settlements as well as in Virginia. In the summer of 1776, in the exciting times of the revolution, and when the country was most agitated with the question of independence, Mr. Power decided upon going West with his family, and he was ordained for that purpose at Octoraro, Lancaster County. In the autumn of that year he removed with his family, and took up his residence within the bounds of Dunlap's Creek congregation, which is in the county of Fayette. Mr. Power labored after his removal to the West to supply the destitute Churches over an extensive district, though he resided at Dunlap's Creek, the principal place of his labors, and not until 1779 did he become the regular pastor of Sewickly and Mount Pleasant congregations. He lived to the age of eighty-five, greatly venerated and beloved for his piety, fidelity, and usefulness. "He was a graceful speaker and of polished manners. His sermons were clear, methodical, and expressive, in language well selected. His enunciation was so perfect that when he spoke in the open air, as he frequently did, he could be heard at a great distance. His ministry was successful in edifying Christians, instructing the young, and improving the morals of the community." Such was the man of Irish parentage, educated in the schools of the Scotch-Irish ministers, that turned his back on the comforts of more refined society, and this world's enjoyments and emoluments in the older settlements east of the mountains, and became the first settled minister within the bounds of the old Redstone Presbytery.

The great pioneer of evangelical and practical religion, as well as of improved education, in Western Pennsylvania was Rev. John McMillan, D.D., born in Fagg's Manor, Chester County, Pa., in 1752, the child of Irish parents. His classical education was acquired at his native place in the academy under the care and direction of Rev. John Blair, distinguished for talents and learning, as well as for the eminence of many of his pupils in learning, eloquence, and piety. Mr. McMillan finished his classical studies under Rev. Robert Smith, at Pequea, and entered Princeton College in 1770. He graduated in 1772; and, returning to Pequea to pursue his study of theology under Dr. Robert Smith, was licensed by the Presbytery of New Castle in 1774. He early exhibited his missionary zeal, and under appointments visited vacant congregations of Presbyterians in the valley of Virginia, also in Western Pennsylvania. Though his talents, learning, piety, and other qualifications for an acceptable and qualified minister would have commanded the most comfortable situation in the Church, in the old settlements, yet Mr. McMillan chose to forego all this, traverse the great wilderness of mountains, and cast his lot and that of his family with the settlers on the waters of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny, with all the sacrifices, privations, toils, sufferings, and perils that were attendant upon these remote settlements destitute of the comforts and conveniences of social life, as well as of ministerial labors, teaching, and gospel ordinances. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Donegal, at Chambersburg, in June, 1776. The revolutionary movements and Indian disturbances prevented him from removing his family at once, though he visited the congregations of Chartiers and Pigeon Creek, in Western Pennsylvania, as often as circumstances would allow, and to his new field of labor in these congregations as a settled pastor he brought his family in November, 1778. We are furnished with his own account of the new residence he had for himself and family in the new field of labor he had chosen for his abode and that of his family.*

* Dr. McMillan, in a letter to Dr. Carnahan, in 1832, gave the following account of his arrival in this western field, in 1778 ("Old Redstone," p. 186): "When I came to this country, the cabin in which I was to live was raised, but there was no roof to it, nor any chimney or floor. The people, how-

The leadings of Providence would seem to be marked and observable in the destiny and labors of this eminent minister of the gospel, and instructor. The times, the state of the country, and people to whom he went required no ordinary man, but one of uncommon energy, resolution, industry, and perseverance, with ability, learning, sound in the faith of practical piety; apt to teach and willing to spend his powers and be spent in the service of his Divine Master. Rev. Mr. McMillan was the man for this service. Not discouraged by the untoward circumstances of his new residence in his log cabin of simple structure and plain accommodation for his family, he entered on his pastoral labors with zeal. The circumstances in which he was placed required him to "work with his own hands," in handling the ax and the other implements of the sturdy laborer in the new country. He was of vigorous bodily powers, and during his long life was never confined half a day by sickness.

"Though it was necessary for him to labor in improving his building and clearing his land, he did not allow this to interfere with his more important duties as a minister of the gospel, to which he gave all the energies of his body and mind."

This great father of the Presbyterian Church in the West

ever, were very kind; they assisted me in preparing my house, and on the 16th of December I removed into it. But we had neither bedstead nor tables nor stool nor chair nor bucket. All these things we had to leave behind us. As there was no wagon road at that time over the mountains, we could bring nothing with us but what was carried on pack horses. We placed two boxes one on the other, which served us for a table, and two kegs served us for seats, and, having committed ourselves to God in family worship, we spread a bed on the floor and slept soundly till morning. The next day, a neighbor coming to my assistance, we made a table and stool, and in a little time had everything comfortable about us. Sometimes, indeed, we had no bread for weeks together, but we had plenty of pumpkins and potatoes, and all the necessaries of life; as for luxuries, we were not much concerned about them. We enjoyed health, the gospel and its ordinances, and pious friends. We were in the place where we believed God would have us to be; and, glory to his name! we were not disappointed." He was a man of vigorous bodily powers, and could endure labor and toil with any of his neighbors. On one occasion, having made appointments to preach at two places, and his horse having strayed away, he proceeded on foot, and fulfilled his appointments, by preaching at both places and walking, in all, seventeen miles for the purpose, on the Sabbath.

was not content with doctrinal and practical religious instruction and pastoral visitation to the people of his several pastoral charges; but at an early period after his removal to the West, in imitation of the log colleges of Eastern Pennsylvania, and with the example before him of the principals of those seminaries where he received his education and training, directed his attention to the establishment in the Western wilds of a log college for the education of young men in the higher branches of education, as well as for preparation of those of piety for the ministry. Like the Tennents, Blairs, Smith, and others, he erected near his own dwelling a log building of which he was to be the principal and instructor of young men.

Among the early and eminent ministers and teachers who penetrated into Western Pennsylvania was Rev. Thaddeus Dod, from New Jersey, a licentiate of the Presbytery of New York. He removed to the Redstone settlement in 1778, taking up his abode at Fort Lenalle, on the border of what is now Virginia. The fort was a place of shelter and defense to the inhabitants of the settlement against the Indian incursions then frequent and alarming. His first preaching and administering the ordinance of baptism was within the fort. The locality was the most perilous from Indian warfare of all places in Western Pennsylvania. Mr. Dod settled on a farm in the neighborhood, and after a few years a "meetinghouse" of hewn logs was built near the fort. He possessed a highly cultivated and well-disciplined mind. "His power of concentration and of holding his thoughts closely upon any point or subject of investigation, amid any amount of external interruption, was perhaps never exceeded." Not only was he an accurate classical scholar thoroughly versed in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, but a profound mathematician. Soon after his settlement in the West he united with his great office of preaching the gospel the office of instructor of youth in the higher branches of classical and scientific education. The settlers of this neighborhood in 1781 united in putting up a Log Academy. It would appear from historical records that Mr. Dod was the first in his efforts in this wild country to promote the cause of education. His pastoral charge was large, and received his faithful and diligent attention. In 1789 he was appointed first principal of Washington Academy,

at Washington, Pa., which, in 1806, was merged into Washington College. The burning of the building in which this academy was conducted induced Mr. Dod to return to his first field of labor, where he died in 1793. His pupils held him in the highest respect, and "he had the happy faculty of infusing into those who were capable of it an intense love of science and literature." When his various traits of character are considered and the remarkable combination of talents found in him, all must admire the providential dispensation that assigned to such a man so useful and responsible but yet perilous and self-denying a charge.

Among his first scholars were Rev. James Hughes, John Brice, James McGready, Samuel Porter, and Thomas Marshall, men of talent, piety, and usefulness in the ministry. The efforts of Rev. Mr. Dod and Dr. Smith in that Western region in education may have preceded those of Dr. McMillan a short time, and it would appear that many young men who had been studying under their direction afterwards placed themselves under the instruction of Dr. McMillan as to their literary course as well as their theological instruction. Dr. McMillan was the great patron of the academy founded at Canonsburg in 1792, and when it became a chartered college it had in him a steady and faithful friend throughout his life. For many years after his settlement in the West he and his family were exposed to great privations and trials, and sometimes to such peril from the Indian enemy as to compel them to seek shelter in the fort. His ministerial labors were arduous and greatly blessed. It is said by a biographer who knew him well, the late Rev. Dr. M. Brown, that "it was supposed that hundreds and even thousands were through his instrumentality converted and trained up for heaven, and that perhaps one hundred ministers were trained more or less in his school of the prophets, many of whom were eminently useful." He preached often in 1833, the year of his death, in the eighty-second year of his age and sixtieth of his ministry, on some occasions leaning on a crutch for the support of his aged frame.*

* In the graveyard of Chartlers, over his remains, is erected by the congregation a tombstone. The following is a part of the inscription: "Erected in memory of the Rev. John McMillan, D.D., an able divine, a preacher of the first order. His distinguished talents, his active benevolence, his

Rev. Joseph Smith was an able coadjutor of Dr. McMillan and Rev. James Power, D.D., in the great western field of ministerial labor. He had graduated at Princeton in 1762, and was licensed by the Presbytery of New Castle to preach the gospel in 1767. After laboring for some years in the eastern settlements and visiting the west he accepted a call from Cross Creek and Buffalo in Western Pennsylvania. In 1780 he moved into the bounds of the latter as their pastor. "He was a thorough classical scholar of well-disciplined mind, sound in the faith, abounding in piety and zeal in his ministerial work, in which his labors as a pastor were eminently blessed, and, though preaching was his great work, he was distinguished for his usefulness out of the pulpit, in catechetical instruction of the young, and in his earnest and effective conversation with his people about their eternal interests."

The first school that was opened in the west for training young men for the sacred office of the ministry was begun by Mr. Smith at Buffalo, Washington County, Pa., about 1785. Mr. Smith had a small building erected in a corner of his garden, called "the student's room." In this and the log cabin of Dr. McMillan were educated in the West some men who were distinguished for their influence and usefulness in society and in the Church. Amongst these were Rev. Messrs. William Swan, Samuel Porter, James Hughes, John Brice, David Smith, Joseph Patterson. The school for the languages and sciences was continued for some time; and then, by some mutual arrangement, was transferred, and organized near Canonsburg, under the care of Dr. McMillan, and out of which was raised Jefferson College.

The first Presbytery organized in Western Pennsylvania was in September, 1781, by Rev. Messrs. John McMillan, James Power, and Thaddeus Dod, with their elders; Rev. Joseph Smith being absent. It was called the "Presbytery of Redstone." The term "Redstone settlement" designated most of

private virtue, his exalted piety, the skill and ability which he displayed in instructing and training young men for the gospel ministry, his indefatigable zeal in promoting his Master's cause and the best interests of his fellow-men, have raised a monument to his fame far more imperishable than the stone which bears this inscription. He was the leading founder of Jefferson College."

the country in Southwestern Pennsylvania, claimed by Pennsylvania or Virginia, embracing what now constitutes the counties of Fayette, Washington, Green, and parts of Westmoreland and Allegheny. The settlement took its name from that of a creek which enters the Monongahela near Brownsville, a place of ancient notoriety by the name of "Redstone Old Fort."

The influx of immigrants after the revolution was rapid, and continued from Eastern Pennsylvania as well as from Virginia, with a considerable number direct from Ireland. The great mass were of Irish nativity or descent, and were members of the Presbyterian Church.

Amongst them were adventurers of coarse and uncultivated habits, ignorant and disorderly, looking to the chase for their pastime and occupation; and content with a rude cabin and a small patch of land for cultivation, to which there was no great attachment when anything more advantageous in the country presented itself as an inducement to a removal. There were, however, as stated by reliable historians, in this western settlement at the close of the revolutionary war and after, "a numerous class of persons possessing a degree of refinement and intelligence that would have no occasion to blush in the presence of any class of persons, native or otherwise, now to be found amongst us. Many of them continue to gather around them some of the usual appendages of a higher social life. Throughout a portion of Westmoreland, Fayette, and Washington Counties there were many gentlemen farmers of refined, easy manners, courtly in their address, social and hospitable, always ready to receive the ministers on their weary journey to distant meetings or to the destitute settlements." Thus with this class of families seated around them through their respective fields of labor, the Presbyterian ministers were greatly aided in their efforts for the general improvement of the domestic and social state of the country. In addition to this class, "there were amongst these settlers of the west a still more numerous one of plain, substantial, Scotch-Irish people, who, though somewhat blunt and unpolished in their manners, yet for real kindness of disposition, integrity, and hospitality were not excelled by any of their descendants."

"Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the female sex of

this middle class. There was a great energy of character, a patient endurance of the hardships of frontier life and a cheerful submission to domestic privations, which entitle them to the grateful remembrance of the present generation." ("Old Redstone," by Dr. Smith, p. 109.)

It must be admitted by every candid inquirer that the debt of gratitude owing by the western country to the four missionary pioneers of Southwestern Pennsylvania was an immense one; and which we at this distant day, are unable to compute. Their memories should be regarded with reverence as the great benefactors of their age. Men of talents and education, commissioned by the courts of the Church to preach the everlasting gospel to their fellow-men, burning with missionary spirit and zeal, sought the destitute settlements of our western frontier as the field of their labor. They were not held back by the superior comforts, associations, and refinements of society east of the mountain ranges, but with their families, at their own expense, traversed a wilderness of mountains by the traders' or Indians' path, with toil, privations, and fatigue, insurmountable to all but men and women of uncommon energy and resolution, to be engaged in a good work. This great western field was only to be reached and occupied at the peril of health and life, from exposure in a country of almost unbroken forest, and with savage enemies roaming from time to time through its fastnesses to waylay, surprise, and often massacre defenseless families. An overruling Providence directed their way, watched over and guarded them and their families on their perilous journey, and conducted them safely to the places of their destination on the frontier settlements. When there, the same almighty care was over them, to guard and bless them in their labors in behalf of their fellow-men. Though laboring in season and out of season, their service in the work of their divine Master was to them all one of many years, and the two Messrs. Power and McMillan, who would seem to have first entered the service, had their lives prolonged to four score years and upwards. They were allowed to live to see their work prosper, and the fruits of their labors in an extended and flourishing Church, and educated and elevated ministry, and the pupils of their seminaries adorning the learned professions and

the halls of legislation with men of education, learning, and usefulness. There was in the lives of these apostles to the frontier an exalted manifestation of disinterestedness and personal sacrifice seldom equaled. They were the great instruments to promote the religious, moral, and intellectual improvement of large and rapidly increasing settlements of American freemen and their families, and in elevating them to a degree in the scale of intelligence, refinement, enterprise, elevated Christian principle, and every virtue and quality with the most favored communities of our great commonwealth.

Rev. Mr. Doddridge, an Episcopal clergyman of estimation in Western Virginia, and author of a work on the life and manners of the western settlers, states that "the ministry of the gospel has contributed, no doubt, immensely to the happy change which has been effected in the state of our western society. At an early period of our settlements three Presbyterian clergymen commenced their clerical labors in our infant settlements: Rev. Joseph Smith, Rev. John McMillan, and Rev. James Power. They were pious, patient, laborious men, who collected their people into regular congregations and did for them all that their circumstances would allow. It was no disparagement to them that their first churches were the shady groves, and their first pulpits a kind of tent constructed of a few rough slabs, covered with clapboards. He who dwelleth not exclusively in temples made with hands was propitious to their devotions." After referring, with approbation, to the grammar schools established at their own houses or in their immediate neighborhoods, he bears his testimony to their success and usefulness in establishing Canonsburg Academy, incorporated into Jefferson College. He says: "This institution has been remarkably successful in its operations. It has produced a large number of good scholars in all the literary professions, and added immensely to the science of the country. Next to this Washington College has been the means of diffusing much of the light of science through the Western country. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on these good men who opened these fruitful sources of instruction for our infant country at so early a period of its settlement. They have immensely improved the departments of theology, law, medicine, and legislation in the western regions."

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This is impartial and high testimony from a respectable and intelligent minister of another Christian denomination to the character and usefulness of the Presbyterian ministers of the Scotch-Irish race who at an early day entered Western Pennsylvania when a wilderness, and whose labors and success were in the neighborhood of the dwelling of Mr. Doddridge, and of which he was for many years an observer.

The usages of our State and national governments have been, to accord for public services, to some of the distinguished actors in the land and naval armaments, their honors and rewards by the resolutions of their legislative bodies by votes of thanks, medals, or swords. And sometimes the people, by the highest gift in their power, have elevated to the presidency of the republic a successful general with little regard to qualification for the office of Chief Magistrate of a constitutional government.

Where death has conquered the conqueror of a host of his fellow-men by their slaughter or captivity there has been erected to his memory a monument of marble or bronze to commemorate his deeds of human carnage.

The benefactors of their age, by deeds of philanthropy, by their labors of love in the religious, moral, and intellectual improvement of great communities of the people, over extensive districts of the country, unprovided for by the government, are left only to the spontaneous effusions and gratitude of individuals or the communities specially favored by their labors.

What is there in any Christian country to elevate a military chieftain in public favor above the faithful missionary in the service of the King of kings? The military commander in his march to the seat of war when on the frontier has his accompaniments of soldiers to pitch and strike his tent, have the care of his horse and baggage, protect his person, minister to his wants, and execute his orders; and when he reaches the country of the enemy his toil, exposure, and peril are often ended by a campaign of a few months or a single battle in which the fortunes of war, superior numbers or military tactics, had given him a victory to be applauded by his all-observing countrymen.

It is to be deplored that the tendencies of public sentiment in our great republic should be so much to create a war spirit, foster and honor military prowess, place it in the front rank

of public service, and make war and the army the high road to honor and distinction. The organization of our government is adapted to peace, with the progress and prosperity that are the growth of peaceful relations. War is not the element for its success and permanency, but should be considered and averted as a great calamity to the nation, unless when national honor and safety impose it.

The missionary of the gospel of peace is a soldier of the cross whose weapon is the sword of the Spirit, with the Bible for his shield and banner. His war is with ignorance, vice, sin, and infidelity; the conquest sought by him is not one of blood or death, but to bring all the enemies of God and man captive from death unto life, and from sin unto righteousness. His energy, fortitude, bravery, and zeal are attested by toil and exposure of life, not only in his solitary and perilous journeys in the country traversed by savage enemies, or in the campaign of one season, or a single battlefield, but by a long life of faithful and devoted service to his divine Master. His reward is the satisfaction of doing that Master's work on earth, and he may hope for the recompense of reward to a faithful servant in the life to come from the righteous Judge of the living and the dead.

Ministers plenipotentiary have been appointed from time to time and sent by our national government, with expensive outfits and salaries to represent it in its foreign relations to the European governments of the highest rank; and on some occasions they have been honored with a passage across the ocean in a national ship, and, after living sumptuously and enjoying the society of royalty and nobility for some years, returned to their country; and yet how few of these public characters, in all their diplomacy, have rendered to the welfare and prosperity of their country a *tithe* of the benefits rendered by more than one of the Presbyterian ministers named in the mission from the Church to the frontier settlements of Western Pennsylvania by their labor and services in extending religious and moral influence and diffusing and elevating education.

After the revolutionary war was ended and peace established, the immigration to Western Pennsylvania increased rapidly. The district of country embracing the present counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Allegheny, Washington, and Green was at-

tractive to settlers from the counties of Chester, Lancaster, York, and Cumberland. Many of these were emigrants from Ireland who had taken up their residence for a time in the eastern part of the State, where they had sojourned with their friends or countrymen. Many emigrants also, as they arrived from Ireland, directed their way to the Scotch-Irish settlements, rapidly progressing in Southwestern Pennsylvania. The mass of these were men of intelligence, resolution, energy, religious and moral character, having means that enabled them to supply themselves with suitable selections of land for their residence and farm, and with necessary stock and implements for their accommodation. They were, like their predecessors east of the mountains, agriculturists of substance and industry, who sought a place for the permanent abode of their families and the means of supporting them.

It is matter of some surprise that so many substantial and respectable settlers were attracted to such a residence at that time west of the mountains when there was so much land uncultivated in the Kittochtinny Valley and other valleys east of the Alleghany Mountains that were equally fertile, and so much more accessible and more convenient to the eastern settlements and markets as well as the land and other public offices of the State government. These lands were to be purchased from individual holders at moderate advances on the Land Office prices. We must suppose that they had friends and relatives who had preceded them to the western waters, whose association and neighborhood they preferred, and whose description of the country of their settlement and its fresh and fertile soil had in it much to attract them. We cannot say at this day that they acted unwisely, or that their circumstances and those of their families would have been improved by a residence east of the Alleghany Mountains. The resolution, energy, enterprise, and industry that enabled them to overcome the obstacles of a journey across the mountain ranges, and the toils, sacrifices, and perils incident to settlements so remote from market and more advanced communities, as well as from government aid and protection, formed in the men and women of those times the characters most desirable and useful in this new and opening country, whose labors and perseverance converted the wilderness into well-cultivated

farms, constituted a barrier to savage incursion on the eastern settlements, organized congregations of Christian worshipers, and established and maintained schools and seminaries of education. The activity and character of such a population were not to end with the one generation. It was transmissible to descendants who had been brought up under such training and education as made them in after times the great pioneers and founders of settlements of the Northwestern Territory and the States formed out of it, in which these descendants of the Scotch-Irish settlers of Western Pennsylvania were among the most prominent, useful, and distinguished citizens of the republic.

These settlers are not to be confounded with rambling settlers, who were generally in advance of civilization and on the confines of the frontier, and who made their hasty settlement without office grant or right, putting up a rough cabin as a shelter for their families, attached to which was a small patch of clear land for the cultivation of some garden vegetables and corn, depending on their guns for a supply of meat for their families and for the skins and furs that furnished them some of their clothing and household articles and were their staples for sale or barter to the trader. This class of adventurers, who were, it is believed, more numerous on the confines of Virginia and adjacent, and who have been graphically described by Rev. Mr. Doddridge in his published notes on their habits, condition, and education, were little better than the Indians, and were ready to sell the preëmption, or inception of title, under their improvement to some settler of more means and of different habits and character who was able and willing to pay the squatter an advance on his improvement, and take from the Land Office an official grant, predicated on the improvement as the inception of title. The improver or squatter thus selling was ready on short notice to gather up his small stock of goods and chattels, and from his knowledge of the great extent of unimproved lands in the country where he was accustomed to roam in pursuit of game or his Indian foes, would set himself down on some other eligible tract of vacant land and prosecute anew his speculating and roving propensities by erecting the small log cabin, to be occupied until it might in time be sold to ad-

vantage to some exploring immigrant who was willing to purchase the possessory right, to be confirmed by an official grant from the State on the established terms of the law.

Settlers of the same character are to be found in these days on the frontier of the United States, intruding on the public lands as well as those of Indian reservation before they are open to appropriation and sale. They claim a preëmption when the lands are offered for sale by the government, and intimidate all competition of purchasers by threats of violence and bloodshed, which are sometimes put into barbarous execution. They generally profess a willingness to sell out their preëmption, which is often only a wrongful possession against law and maintained in violation of law, but to which peaceful and orderly settlers are for peace and safety forced to submit. After sale the roaming settler will renew and pursue his squatting propensities and uncivilized habits in some more remote territory.

Among the immigrants that removed to Western Pennsylvania after the revolutionary war were ministers of the gospel in the Presbyterian Church, educated in the log colleges of Eastern Pennsylvania and graduates of Princeton College. Among these was Rev. James Finley, of Irish nativity, educated in his classical studies at the log college under Rev. Samuel Blair, where he was trained to an accurate scholarship in the languages. He was the brother of Dr. Finley, President of Princeton College. Rev. James Finley removed to the Forks of Youghiogeny, in Western Pennsylvania, in 1873, where he was called and settled as a pastor in the Presbyterian Church. He had been licensed as a minister and officiated as such for some years before in Eastern Pennsylvania, and had visited the Presbyterian congregations of Western Pennsylvania some years before his removal to reside in that country. He was a man of eminent piety and a devoted, faithful, and excellent pastor.

Rev. James Dunlap, a native of Chester County, Pa., receiving his early education in the schools of his neighborhood, graduated at Princeton College in 1773. He studied divinity under Rev. James Finley, at East Nottingham, before his removal to the west; was licensed by the Presbytery of Donegal about 1781, and ordained, *sine titulo*, by the Presbytery of New Castle, at Fagg's Manor in 1781, and shortly after removed to Western

Pennsylvania, where he was installed pastor of the congregations of Laurel Hill and Dunlap's Creek. In 1803 he was chosen President of Jefferson College, a station which he held with great respect until 1811, having had conferred on him the title of Doctor of Divinity by the trustees of the college with which he was connected. He was represented as a man of great piety and eminent for his accurate attainments in classical literature, with which it is said he was so familiar as to have the ancient classics in his memory to recite, or hear and correct the recital of others.

There were several other ministers of the Presbyterian Church educated in the Log Colleges of Eastern Pennsylvania, some of whom graduated at Princeton College and directed their way about the same time to Western Pennsylvania as a field for their labor and services, where their labors were greatly blessed and successful. This great district of country, embracing now six or more counties of distinction, wealth, and influence in the State, would seem to have been peculiarly attractive to all classes of citizens at an early day, many of whom were eminent for talents, intelligence, learning, and usefulness. They disregarded the want of political, commercial, and social advantages as enjoyed in Eastern Pennsylvania, and would seem to have anticipated the improvements that were to overcome the mountain barriers and place them nearer to their State capital as well as the seat of the national government, eastern markets, and eastern associations.

Amongst these was Arthur St. Clair, of Scotch nativity, who as a military commander settled at Fort Ligonier, where he was at the organization of Westmoreland County in 1773, of the courts of which he was appointed the first clerk. Though esteemed for military talents of a high order, bravery, integrity, and patriotism which elevated him to the rank of major general in the army of the American colonies, yet misfortune marked him as her own, and his memorable defeat by the Indians has always been regarded as a sad event in the history of the republic, imputable more to the condition and supplies of the army than to want of generalship in the commander, who at the time was helpless in his tent from disease, and not able to mount his horse without assistance. Having served his country in many

civil offices with ability and fidelity, he died in Westmoreland County in 1818, at the age of eighty-four.

Hugh Henry Brackinridge, of a high reputation as a scholar, lawyer, politician, and jurist in Pennsylvania, removed to Western Pennsylvania about 1781 as a place for his permanent abode. Having been brought by his parents from Scotland to York County, Pa., when he was a child, his early education was in the schools of the neighborhood, and pursued at Princeton College, where he graduated. He was licensed in the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, and served in the American army as a chaplain. Having relinquished the ministry and studied law, he entered on its practice in Western Pennsylvania when that country was little more than a wilderness. In his profession he was prosperous and distinguished. In 1800 he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of the State, a station which he filled with ability, and which he retained until his death, in 1818.

James Ross, of Pittsburg, eminent for talents and learning, and distinguished as a lawyer, advocate, and statesman, emigrated, a young man, from the Barrens of York County to Western Pennsylvania, shortly after the revolutionary war. He was a descendant of Scotch-Irish parents who had given him the plain education their circumstances and neighborhood afforded. By application he advanced himself in his education, and for some time was employed as a teacher. By pursuing his studies, he soon qualified himself for admission to the bar. His great powers of mind, with industry and application, gave him a rank as a lawyer that had few equals, and as a member of the Pennsylvania State Convention to form a Constitution for its government, and as a Statesman in the United States Senate, he was not surpassed. His high and merited reputation made him a public man of celebrity in Pennsylvania and of much regard in other States.

Alexander Addison, a Scotchman by birth and education, was licensed as a minister by a Presbytery of Scotland and emigrated to the United States. He took up his abode in Washington County, Pa., in 1784, as a Presbyterian minister. As such he officiated there acceptably to the Presbyterian congregation in Washington for some time, and they were desirous of having him for their permanent pastor. Mr. Addison there gave his

attention to the study of the law, and, withdrawing from the ministry, was admitted as an attorney of the courts. His talents and superior acquirements soon commanded attention and regard. In 1791 he was appointed the first President Judge of the judicial district for that section of the State. He was a man of strong mind, great attainments, and undoubted integrity. His judicial opinions and charges to the grand juries of his district are monuments of his sound judgment, legal learning, and political wisdom, as well as of his devotion to the peace and good order of society and the maintenance of the constitution and laws. Presiding at a time of great party excitement, and in a district where there was an organized, unlawful, but popular opposition to some of the laws and constituted authorities of the national government, he made himself obnoxious to the facetious multitudes by his conservative principles, and the exercise of his judicial powers in the preservation of order and submission to the laws of the government. He was somewhat impatient in temper, and could not be courteous to ignorance combined with rudeness and presumption.

Though impeached and removed from his judicial station by a partisan Legislature of Pennsylvania, for frivolous cause that did not impeach his integrity, he was dishonored less in the estimation of a virtuous and intelligent community than the public body which unjustly sought to make him a victim to party persecution and individual hostility.*

Albert Gallatin, a Swiss young man of talents and learning, who had graduated at Geneva, in Switzerland, sought a home in the American republic; and, after visiting several parts of the United States, between 1783 and 1785, by the advice of his friends, selected a place on the banks of the Monongahela, within the present county of Fayette, Pa., for his residence. As soon as he became known in that humble retirement, his talents and acquirements obtained for him the public respect and confidence. As early as 1789 he was elected from the district of his residence a member of the Convention to amend the Constitution of Pennsylvania, which brought him to public notice as a

* "Alexander Addison was the President of the Courts in four counties, and I venture to say that a more intelligent, learned, upright, and fearless judge was not to be found in the State." (Dr. Carnahan.)

man of abilities and learning. His subsequent life was one of official service in the highest stations in the gift of the people or in the appointment of the government, with the exception of the presidency. His abilities as a statesman, financier, and diplomatist were acknowledged by the country and are familiar to all who are conversant with the history of our government.

William Findlay, of the county of Westmoreland, settled in that county about the close of the revolutionary war. He was an emigrant from Ireland, who had first settled on the Conococheague, in the Kittochtinny Valley, about 1764. His means were small, and he there followed the humble occupation of a weaver. He was of limited early education, but of strong intellect, which he cultivated by reading and reflection. He acquired a knowledge of history and government which made him an influential member of society in its relations and in all public measures. As a public man he was respected for sagacity, experience, and judgment. The confidence of the community in his patriotism and judgment was manifested where he resided by his selection as one of the Council of Censors of the State government under the constitution of 1776. He was a member of the convention that formed the constitution of 1790, and in other official stations or distinction and responsibility represented the district in which he resided.

Scotch-Irish families moved to this western district during and immediately after the revolutionary war in great numbers. In these families were members who united piety with intelligence and a desire to cultivate their minds, and who, under the teachings and direction of Rev. Messrs. Smith, McMillan, and Dod, qualified themselves by their studies for the ministry to which, after proper probation and trial, they were admitted. Many of them were distinguished for ability and learning as well as their aptness to teach and their faithful devotion and labor as pastors; among whom were Rev. Joseph Patterson, Rev. Samuel Porter, Rev. Robert Marshall, of Irish nativity, Rev. James Hughes, Rev. John Brice, Rev. James McGready, Rev. Elisha McCurdy, of Irish descent, and others. The praise of these men is still in the congregations in which they were ministers, laboring faithfully, acceptably, and usefully. To these were added many other Presbyterian ministers of education,

learning, and piety from the eastern part of the State, licensed by the Presbyteries of Donegal and Carlisle. We cannot give a sketch of their usefulness and labors without extending this article beyond our proper limits.*

In this Western country there were, at the close of the last century and immediately before, a large amount of intelligence, with religious and moral character, as well as means and opportunities of literary, scientific, and theological education for young men who would seek it, not as a pastime for a portion of their life, but to be sedulously improved to the acquisition of knowledge with mental cultivation and discipline.

The great majority of the early settlers manifested their satisfaction with their residence in this wild country by making it their homes until death. We may at this day wonder at the contentment of intelligent and highly cultivated minds so much to be admired in the midst of privations which in this age would be considered as beyond endurance by any who could withdraw themselves from them and obtain a residence where there were more comforts and social enjoyments.

The occupation of almost all was agriculture; their taste rural. Like their friends of the Kittochtinny Valley, they had no partiality for towns and villages, the establishment of which was only in compliance with some special necessity and the public wanting the accommodation. Westmoreland County was organized in 1773, embracing all Southwestern Pennsylvania. The place appointed for holding its courts and county offices was Hanna's Town, a small village, and the only one in the district. It was situated on the old Forbes army road, distant but a few miles from the present town of Greensburg, afterwards located there. Hanna's Town consisted of about thirty log houses and cabins, including a log courthouse and jail. The courts for this large district were held only at this place and before justices of the peace. This was at a time when Virginia claimed this village, as well as nearly all Westmoreland County, as being her territory; and in maintenance of her jurisdiction and authority had established her courts at a place a few miles south

* The reader is referred for full and very interesting information respecting the incidents of their lives in this western field to Dr. Elliot's life of McCurdy and others, and to "Old Redstone," by Dr. Smith.

of where the town of Washington is located, and also where Brownsville now is, in the county of Fayette. There were at this period but a few log cabins or dwellings adjacent to Fort Pitt. The conflict between these territorial claims of the two governments were harassing to the settlers under Pennsylvania, who, as well as officers and magistrates under its government, were subjected to frequent arrest and imprisonment by persons under the authority and command of Dunmore, the arbitrary Governor of Virginia. These conflicts were kept up for some years, and even after the commencement of the revolutionary war and until the royal Governor of Virginia, preferring to retain his rank and the royal service to a republican government, fled as a fugitive from Virginia to the shelter of the army of his King. This conflict of jurisdiction and of the officers of the law were, after this, in a great measure suspended in the district by mutual forbearance and accommodation. The title to lands was uncertain and embarrassing to the settlers, and to those who were desirous of purchasing or making an appropriation under the government until the boundary line was permanently established in 1784, by which Pennsylvania jurisdiction and right were quieted and confirmed over this large district of fertile and valuable country.

The settlers were, for many years during the revolution and for a long time after, exposed to Indian invasions, alarming ravages, and massacres; and for the defense of themselves and families against the savage enemy the government made little provision, and left them in a great measure to their own resources.

Their means of conveyance and transportation from the eastern settlements and markets were the pack horse by the traders' paths, across mountain ranges of great extent not admitting of wheel carriages. Their trade to New Orleans was tedious and perilous for many hundred miles through a hostile Indian country, and their return from New Orleans was either by sea to the Atlantic cities or by traversing the western wilderness for two thousand miles.

Their merchandise and groceries, with iron and salt, were brought across the mountains on pack horses from Chambersburg, Hagerstown, or Winchester. The first wagon that passed over this barrier of mountain ranges to these western settle-

ments was in 1789, from Hagerstown to Brownsville. It was drawn by four horses, carrying two thousand pounds, and was near a month on the road of about one hundred and thirty miles.

The first newspaper published west of the Alleghany Mountains was the *Pittsburg Gazette* in 1786, by John Scull and Joseph Hall. At that time there was no mail to the district; all correspondence was carried on by special express or casual travelers and traders. In the fall of 1786 the first post was established from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and one from Virginia to meet the other at Bedford.

The county of Washington was not organized until 1781, and the town of Washington within it laid out in 1782, at a place known as an Indian village, called Catfish, from the name of its Indian chief, who had resided there at an early day.

The town of Pittsburg was laid out in 1784 by agents of the old proprietary family on a reserved manor; yet its inhabitants had to attend their courts at Greensburg until 1788, when Allegheny County was erected.

In 1786 Pittsburg contained but thirty-six log houses, one stone and one frame house, and in it there were five small stores.

Hanna's Town, the principal and only town in the district, was attacked by the Indians in 1782, captured and burned, with its log courthouse, offices, and jail. Its inhabitants, having taken shelter in the adjacent stockade fort, escaped the fury of the savages, through the stratagem, bravery, and management of a few settlers sheltered in it who were practiced in Indian warfare.

Merchandise and groceries were obtained for family use from merchants established in various parts of the country, who obtained their supplies from the eastern cities and towns through the traders and carriers by pack horses.

It is matter of history that the paper on which the *Pittsburg Gazette* was printed was brought on pack horses for some years from Chambersburg, where it was manufactured, and that in 1782, the publishers not receiving their expected supply by the pack horse carrier, who reported, "No paper finished," Mr. Scull *borrowed* from the keepers of the public stores *three reams* for a number of his paper until the pack horses would again return from Chambersburg.

Fayette County was organized in 1783, yet Uniontown, which consisted of a few log buildings, did not improve much until after 1796. The transportation of merchandise across the mountains, and of the necessary articles of iron and salt, continued by pack horses until near the close of the last century. As late as 1796, at Chambersburg, pack horses were loaded with various articles for the west, including bar iron. In that year the first paper mill west of the mountains was erected at Brownsville, and until it was in operation the paper mill at Chambersburg supplied the entire west with paper, including Kentucky.

The first stagecoach was established from Chambersburg to Pittsburg in 1804, over a rough and narrow mountain road, opened a little by the townships with the aid of contributions from some citizens of public spirit on or near the line. The turnpike roads from the east side of the mountains to Pittsburg and Brownsville were constructed for public use about 1820.

With all the disadvantages and privations enumerated, the western district filled up rapidly with industrious, enterprising, resolute, and intelligent inhabitants, who were not deterred by such obstacles and who were willing to risk their fortunes in this land of promise though forbidding in many respects.

The predominant element of character in the population of this western district was that of Scotch-Irish origin. The great mass of it was of Irish and Scotch nativity or descent. The influence, peculiarities, and policy of that race were manifested in the progress, improvements, and institutions of the community spread over this wide district. In habits, taste, religious and moral character, political sentiments, and social condition they resembled much the same race that peopled the Kittochtinny or Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania.

Like it, they were still more remote from the offices, attention, supervision, or provision of the State government. Their patriotism was exhibited as early as May 16, 1775, at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland County convened at Hanna's Town, in which they denounced the British ministry as wicked and the Parliament corrupt, and the acts against Massachusetts Bay as a system "of tyranny and oppression and that they were ready to oppose it with their lives

and fortunes." * British policy and cruelty having instigated the savages on our western frontier to renew their hostilities on the frontier settlements compelled all the men of Westmoreland fit for military service to remain near their homes to defend the country during the revolutionary war against the incursions of the many tribes of Indians that dwelt and roamed between the Ohio and Allegheny waters and the lakes.

In that defense they were exercised by frequent alarms from the savages, who frequently stole their way unobserved into the settlements, surprising families, and marking their way with fire and bloodshed. After independence children were often carried off captive to Detroit, still in possession of the British, contrary to treaty, where they were permitted to be sold. After their depredations, the Indians in their accustomed warfare made a hasty retreat by their byways across the Ohio. The continued state of alarm and great insecurity of the families of the settlers induced the erection of stockade forts and block-houses for shelter and defense. The men had their firearms always ready for use, and generally in their hands or at their sides, in their occupations in or near their farms and dwellings.

The State government, or the Confederation, was not in condition to afford the necessary relief or protection. The obligations of the whole country and the State and national governments were great to the brave and resolute men who, in the midst of many alarms and perils to their lives and those of their families, defended that frontier against the incursions of powerful tribes of savages, and in so doing relieved the settlements east of the mountains from the murderous attacks of this terrible enemy. For this interposition and defense these men received no adequate requital, either in land or in money. These harassing wars of the Indians were continued until Wayne's victory in 1794, which subdued the Indians and gave security and permanent peace to the settlements.

Yet with privations, sacrifices, and trials so many and great, this western district increased rapidly in population, improvement, and resources. The great majority of the people were contented and reconciled to the country they had selected for their abode. The great instrumentality in the improvement of

* "American Archives," Fourth Series, Vol. 2, p. 615.

this increasing and widespread community, in religious, moral, intellectual, and social condition, were the Presbyterian ministers who have been referred to as the great pioneers in extending religious influence and congregational organization for Christian worship, and in extending and diffusing education.

The youth were educated at home in the rudiments of knowledge under parental instruction, and trained to obedience and subordination as the unbending law of the family. They learned there the great truths of the gospel, and "what man was to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man." The schools established by Presbyterian ministers, in which they were instructors as well as the principal, or which were under their supervision, confirmed and extended the home education. The scholars of these schools were desirous of improving their minds, adding by application to their knowledge, and profiting under all the facilities and means they enjoyed for their instruction. The habits of obedience and subordination that were established at home were brought into the schoolroom in all their force.

The pastors of congregations or the missionaries of the Church, by their influence and knowledge, coöperated in the great work of religious and moral instruction by their teachings and exhortations, which were regarded with reverence, as those of learned and pious men, commissioned by the courts of the Presbyterian Church.

The impress of such instrumentalities was not only manifested in the families of Church members, but by association and influence extended beyond the pale of organized congregations, and their tendency was to reform and elevate public sentiment and morals as well as the habits and manners of the people. The great success of the ministers in the early history of this new country is evidence of the divine blessing and sanction which accompanied and impressed their labors.

The old Redstone Presbytery in 1781 embraced within its bounds old Westmoreland, as called, which then included all Southwestern Pennsylvania. There were then in it but four Presbyterian ministers. Such has been the increase of Presbyterian influence and organization that by the census of 1850

there was reported in this district of the Presbyterian Church, in all its branches, 204 churches.*

As has been stated, classical schools were early established by the founders of the Redstone Presbytery at Canonsburg, Washington, and some other places. These, under the patronage of the Presbyterian ministers and Scotch-Irish settlers of the district, were elevated to the Colleges of Washington and Jefferson. Jefferson College, at Canonsburg, has been eminently useful in extending education in the Great West. Its graduates have held a high place in the ministry and in the professions of law and medicine, and it has given a superior education to many respectable citizens of various occupations. Jefferson College has educated nearly six hundred young men for the ministry during fifty-three years of existence, of whom, it is said, thirty-five have entered the foreign field. Washington College has also been instrumental in giving the country a number of graduates of distinction and usefulness. Both these institutions have been under Presbyterian influence and direction.

There was established, many years since, a theological seminary at Canonsburg, under the direction of the Associate Presbyterian Church, and it is still maintained.

At Pittsburg there was established, something more than thirty years since, the Western University of Pennsylvania, which has graduated a large number of students, a great proportion of whom devoted themselves to the ministry of the gospel in one or other branch of the Presbyterian Church. About the same time was established in Allegheny City the Western Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, founded by its General Assembly, and under its care and direction. It has a faculty of able and learned professors. About the same time the theological seminary of the Associate Reformed Church, and also the Allegheny Theological Institute of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, were established in Allegheny City, being Presbyterian institutions. These have been under the direction of men distinguished as theologians, and the purposes of the institutions were to prepare by education candidates for the ministry in their several ecclesiastical associations in such manner

* Allegheny, 69; Washington, 48; Westmoreland, 29; Fayette, 19; Green, 10; Indiana, 29.

as would qualify them for the important office of ministers of the gospel.

In other counties within the district have been established academies furnishing a classical education to those of the county that were desirous of it.

It is believed that this rural district of Pennsylvania, under the workings of its Scotch-Irish element, will compare with any rural district of the Union in the advancement of religious institutions and Christian instruction, and in intellectual and moral education, internal improvement, social order, good morals, public spirit, and patriotism.

Mr. Day, in his "Collections," speaking of Washington County, says that "the citizens, generally descendants of the Scotch-Irish, are noted as orderly, well-educated, and churchgoing people; and the best evidence of this is the number and flourishing state of the colleges, seminaries, and benevolent institutions of the town and its vicinity." * This commendation is from a descendant of the Puritans, who in his historic work, as before referred to, has exhibited no partiality for the Scotch-Irish race of Pennsylvania.

In the early history of this district of Pennsylvania there is a dark side not to be overlooked. The great political and moral offense committed by a large portion of their people against the peace, laws, and government of the United States, in the years 1792, 1793, and 1794, by an organized opposition in resistance of those laws imposing a tax on the distillation of whisky known as the western insurrection or whisky war, was too notorious and reprehensible to be allowed to pass into oblivion. The combinations in the counties of Washington and Allegheny were large and influential to obstruct the execution of the laws, in doing which violent acts were perpetrated against the persons and property of the officers of the national government. The opposition commenced with the avowed purpose of having repealed by Congress this law as inexpedient, impolitic, unequal, and oppressive in its operation, and especially obnoxious to the people of this district. Yet this was not enough to satisfy the views and designs of some unprincipled and ambitious leaders

* Day's "Historical Collections," p. 664.

who sought a prominence and distinction in public favor by availing themselves of the hostility with the Western people to this particular law, and excited the prejudices of the people against the national government, its measures, and the party who administered it, at the head of which government was then the Father of His Country.

That they might be elevated to power and rule, these demagogues were willing to involve the country in a civil war and pull down the pillars of the republic. The tendency of their measures was to subvert the government. Though they advocated in some of their public meetings military organization and resort to arms, yet, fortunately for the public peace, there were in those meetings some more judicious and honest men, who had not cast off their patriotism and allegiance, were not ready for "treason or rebellion," and had influence sufficient to restrain the people from giving support to the violent and treasonable measures of profligate leaders.

Congress had amended the laws complained of so as to make them as little objectionable as was allowable to be effective, and the administration had exhausted all its means of conciliation with the insurgents without success. The civil authority was found totally incompetent to execute the laws and maintain the public peace. There was no alternative left to the executive government but a choice between submission to lawless combinations against the government and laws, or to execute the laws passed by the representatives of the people in conformity to the constitution with all the powers confided to the chief magistrate of the republic.

The national government under the Federal constitution was then in its infancy: an experiment on trial, but, fortunately for the country at such a crisis, Washington was at the head of the government. While the President took measures to call out the militia to suppress the insurrection, he expressed his deep regret at the occasion; but with the most solemn conviction that the essential interests of the Union demanded it, that the very existence of the government and the fundamental principles of social order were involved in the issue, the insurgents were by proclamation required to disperse and retire to their respective homes.

The President, though firm and decided to execute the laws and maintain the government, made, in the midst of preparation for military organization, a peaceful effort to bring the disaffected to a sense of their duty, appointing three commissioners of talents and integrity to repair to the scene of insurrection and confer with them, promising amnesty in case of submission to the laws. In this they were unsuccessful, and the President was under the painful necessity of putting the military force in motion.

It is not within our proposed limits or purpose to give a detail of the movements of the insurgents or the military operations that became necessary. When the alternative was imposed on Washington as President of executing the law and maintaining the government, he was as firm and decided as he had before been mild and conciliating. His call for a military force adequate to the occasion was cheerfully as well as promptly obeyed by the people. By his wise and energetic measures, and the presence of his person, with the army of citizen soldiers of all classes and occupations, this formidable insurrection was suppressed without bloodshed, and the laws and government maintained. Bradford, the prominent agitator and leader, made his escape as a fugitive from justice into the Spanish dominions. Two other of the principal insurgents, Philip Vegol and John Mitchell, were tried for treason and found guilty, but afterwards pardoned by the President.

President Washington, in his speech to Congress, remarked that the promptitude with which his call for support from his fellow-citizens had been obeyed demonstrated that they understood the true principles of government and liberty, and that "notwithstanding all the devices which have been used to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the law against licentious invasions as they were to defend their rights against usurpation."

In the extenuation of the great public offense committed in this district regard must be had to the condition of the country and the circumstances of the people at that time. They had, during the revolutionary war and for many years after, been left in a great measure defenseless by both national and State gov-

ernments, which had been disabled by embarrassments arising out of the war to afford the aid required by this isolated and exposed district. Nothing had been done to improve the means of communication or transportation to the eastern markets. As agriculturists they could not carry their grain entire to market on their pack horses; and because it could not be transported to New Orleans but with great danger, delay, and uncertainty they were driven to the necessity of reducing the products of their farms to the most portable size by distillation. Yet they were not an intemperate people. Intemperance was not the vice of those times, we are assured by Dr. Smith in his history of the Redstone Presbytery.* The opposition to the law imposing duties on distillation was not chargeable to any special fondness with the people for the intemperate use of whisky. It was the result of a delusion respecting their rights, and an impression that they were wrongfully and oppressively taxed in the very article which alone they could turn to account in trade and commerce, and thereby secure for themselves and families the very necessities of life. The delusion was fomented and encouraged by the ambitious and profligate leaders, who used it to excite the people against all the measures of the national government; and although the mass of the people who were disaffected never dreamed of carrying their opposition to the measures of government to forcible resistance, yet many, by attending their unlawful assemblies, aided to create a tumultuous and treasonable movement, which they could not afterwards repress or allay as they desired. With the leaders it was practical nullification under their organization for resistance to the execution of the law by violence to and personal abuse of its officers. The abuse by these leaders and their partisan confederates of all who advised moderate measures for redress under the constitution intimidated many orderly and law-abiding citizens from an expression of their opinions.

In the midst of this great excitement and delusion there was not in any public meeting a leader so bold as to threaten *disunion*, or suggest it as desirable or possible. They were well aware that the public virtue and patriotism of the country would

* "Old Redstone," p. 252.

recoil from any decided approach to it, and that the man who would be so base and unfaithful to his country as to propose it would be made to sink under the weight of public odium, and if thereafter notorious it would be by the finger of public scorn directed at him. In those days no one undertook to calculate the value of the Union. It was esteemed priceless. It was reserved for the small politicians and noisy demagogues of these days of boasted progress to seek elevation and influence in communities disaffected with some legislation, to talk of and threaten in public assemblies dissolution of the Union with as much flippancy, presumption, and indifference as they would talk of dissolving some petty partnership of their own formation. Public virtue and patriotism would seem to be on the wane in our experimental republic when such sentiments are tolerated without a general burst of indignation.

It is stated by Dr. Smith, in his remarks on that disreputable public movement in opposition to the government, that few of the Presbyterians joined in the movement, and that all their ministers opposed it strenuously and successfully.

Mr. Findlay, who was somewhat implicated in some of the first movements of these unlawful assemblies, states, in reference to a public meeting at Couche's Fort, that "while they were deliberating what was to be done Rev. Mr. Clark, a venerable and very old clergyman of the Presbyterian Church, expostulated with them on the impropriety of the enterprise, and used his utmost endeavors to dissuade them from it." He has also, in his history of that insurrection, borne his testimony to "the industry of the clergy in promoting submission to the laws," and states several instances of it.

Judge Brackenridge, who was well acquainted with the influences exciting insurrection or dissuading it, states in his history that "great pains were taken, particularly by the clergy in various congregations, to restrain it. Rev. Samuel Porter, Rev. John McMillan, and others had from the first borne a decided testimony against the forcible opposition to the laws." "Previous to the day of giving the test of submission to the government, Mr. McMillan, having appointed a day for giving the sacrament of bread and wine, adjourned the celebration until it could be known who would submit, meaning to exclude those

from the ordinance who should remain obstinate and refuse this declaration of fidelity. He attended himself on the day of submission and used his immediate influence."

James Edgar, an elder of the Prebyterian Church, and one of the Associate Judges of Washington County, distinguished for sound sense, piety, and purity of character, as well as for his unpretending eloquence, addressed the assemblies of the people with great power and influence on the side of the law, public order and submission. Dr. Carnahan, in his lecture on the whisky insurrection, says of Mr. Edgar: "This truly great and good man, little known beyond the precincts of Washington County, had removed to Western Pennsylvania at an early period. He had a good English education, and had so improved his mind by reading and reflection that in theological and political knowledge he was superior to many professional men. He had as clear a head and as pure a heart as ever fell to the lot of mortals, and he possessed an eloquence which, although not polished, was convincing and persuasive. Yet he lived in retirement on his farm except when the voice of his neighbors called him to serve the Church or State. He was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church, and one of the Associate Judges of Washington County. I recollect to have heard him at Buffalo, on Monday after a sacramental occasion, address a congregation of at least two thousand people on the subject of the insurrection with a clearness of argument and solemnity of manner and a tenderness of Christian eloquence which reached the understanding and penetrated the heart of every hearer. The consequence was that very few in his neighborhood were concerned in the lawless riots."

Judge Edgar was born in York County, Pa., in the congregation of Slate Ridge, in 1744, and removed to Western Pennsylvania in 1779.

While we have expressed commendation of the principles and character of the early settlers of this western district of Pennsylvania, we felt bound to notice the great criminal movement in opposition to the laws and public authorities as detracting much from the character of a people of religious, moral, and law-abiding professions. The unlawful and riotous assemblies in their midst with measures of violence were not only a reproach to all

who participated in them as actors or abetted them in any manner, but were a reflection on the community in which they were allowed, that there was not in that community sufficient religious, moral, law-respecting, and patriotic influence to have restrained the bad men who were among them in their wicked and lawless measures against the laws and public peace.

The men who were actors in the insurrectionary movements of those days, as well as those who permitted them, have, with a rare exception, been carried to their graves with the stigma on their skirts which half a century has not effaced. Their descendants who are now citizens of those counties that were the theater of these disorderly and criminal proceedings are an orderly and law-abiding people. The deeds of their ancestors in allowing their arms to be raised against their government are remembered only to be deplored, and that all such measures or an approach to them shall be avoided by them, as the reproach and crime that mark and are imputable to the enemies of the republic.

It is a grave and important question, to be settled by politicians and statesmen in time of tranquillity, whether clemency to offenders against the authority of the laws and the existence of society and government has not in the administration of the Federal government been carried too far for the peace and safety of the public as well as for the authority of the laws. All those who in times past have raised their arms in violence or conspired to resist by force the laws of the government and its constituted authorities have been allowed to escape the penalties of the law for their crimes through executive clemency and pardon. The safety and permanence of the republic forbid that an ill-judged benevolence shall permit such high crimes to be perpetrated with impunity. The necessity of example for such offenders is as requisite as it is for the lesser crimes against the public peace and security; and if the law in the hands of a faithful chief magistrate be carried into execution against insurgents and traitors, the public peace will more rarely be violated by unlawful assemblies, and the existence of society and government not be endangered by unlawful organized combinations of men with their leaders in resistance. With a known measure of punishment before them to be executed upon

all such offenders without fear or favor, men will be more submissive to the constituted authorities and laws passed in conformity to the constitution, and abstain from a resistance that will be subdued while the offenders receive the punishment inflicted by the law. Partisans and demagogues will be as little disposed then to threaten rebellion, nullification, and disunion as they would be to boast in public assemblies of their purpose to murder their neighbors, burn their houses, or pick their pockets.

The western insurrection and other unlawful combinations in Pennsylvania to oppose the laws of the Union since its formation are a slur on its citizens and government. If our great Commonwealth is to maintain the position in the Union which she ought to have in regard to her population and territory, it will be necessary in all time to come to manifest her regard for it by repressing with her own power and authority every appearance among her citizens of organized combination to resist by violence and numbers the execution of the laws of the national and State governments.

Let the weight of the law and public authority be laid upon it in its inception, and let a well-directed public sentiment sustain the public officers in the faithful execution of their duty, without regard to party or political associations and names. By so doing the riotous insurgent, the wicked traitor, and the turbulent demagogue will learn that their criminal measures and designs against the government of the people and its free institutions will be as futile as they are infamous.

From the Scotch-Irish settlements of Eastern, Middle, and Western Pennsylvania have emigrated in countless numbers intelligent, resolute, and energetic descendants of Irish and Scotch ancestors who for the last half century have contributed greatly to settle and make up the population of many Western States bordering on the Ohio and Mississippi.

They located themselves beside the descendants of the Puritans as well as others of German origin. The communities thus formed have been harmonious, respectable, and influential, giving tone to public morals, political sentiment, social advantages, elevated education, and religious organizations. The descendants of the Irish and Scotch, in whatever district they may have

cast their lot and fixed their stakes, are among the most prominent, virtuous, religious, active, useful, industrious, and enterprising of the community. They have proved by their faith and works that they are not of ignoble blood and descent, nor below any class of the citizens of this land with whom they may be compared in their principles, virtuous habits, and public usefulness, or in those of their ancestors.

Though Pennsylvania has not elevated one of her own sons to the presidency of the United States,* yet the Scotch-Irish race of the Union has furnished to that presidency three of our Presidents and a majority of the United States Senators since the organization of the Federal government. They have also from their ranks in Pennsylvania given to our Commonwealth five of her governors and a majority of the men who have composed and still compose the supreme and other courts of the State.

In all stations under the national or State governments, civil or military, the men of this race have generally been prominent, eminent, patriotic, and faithful, wise, judicious, and deliberate in council, resolute, unwavering, and inflexible in the discharge of duty; and when called by their country to face the public enemy in arms there were none more brave, fearless, and intrepid.

It is hoped that the compilers of Pennsylvania history hereafter in their review of the progress of improvement in our great Commonwealth in education, arts, science, and manufactures, in the promotion of elevated religious and Christian influence, in the establishment of seminaries of learning, and in the construction of great inland improvements for travel and transportation, will inquire into the authors and founders of these institutions, influences, and improvements, investigate their pretensions, and do justice at least to their merits and memory. Let them not presume to give point to a paragraph by heaping on a whole race some stale and unjust reproach from a bygone calumniator and enemy.

It behooves the men of Pennsylvania who have State pride and emulation and appreciate her prosperity and greatness, as well as the labors, services, and sacrifices of ancestors who did so much to lay the foundation of that prosperity and greatness, to stand by her own men and manifest for their memory the great reverence which they so eminently deserve.

* In 1856, since this tribute was prepared, James Buchanan, a distinguished citizen of Pennsylvania, of Scotch-Irish descent, was chosen President of the United States.

NOTE.

The Executive Committee decided to insert the list of members and supplemental list exactly as found in the volume previously published. Hence these pages will be found numbered as in preceding volume. All changes of address and other matters desired by our members must be forwarded in writing to the Honorable Secretary, that corrections, alterations, or additions may be made in the next volume to be published.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SCOTCH-IRISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA.*

ACHESON, REV. STUART, M.A., 48 Bleeker Street, Toronto, Canada.
First year.

ADAIR, COL. G. W., Atlanta, Ga. 1891.

ADAIR, JAMES McDOWELL, Lexington, Va. 1895.

ADAIR, WILLIAM, M.D., Canmer, Hart County, Ky. First year.

ADAMS, ALEXANDER, 1609 Swatara Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 1891.

APFLECK, JAMES, Belleville, Ill. First year.

AIKEN, JOHN ADAMS, Greenfield, Mass. 1895.

ALEXANDER, M. J., No. 9 Union Trust Co., Pittsburg, Pa. 1890.

ALEXANDER, S. B., Charlotte. N. C. First year.

ALEXANDER, WILLIAM HENRY, Post Office Box 303, Omaha, Neb.
1891.

ANDERSON, CHARLES McCORMICK, Ashland, Wja. 1893.

ANDERSON, JAMES A., Knoxville, Tenn. 1891.

ANDERSON, JAMES B., Detroit, Mich. 1893.

ANDERSON, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Lexington, Va. 1895.

ANDREWS, JOHN, Steubenville, Jefferson County, O. First year.

ARCHER, JAMES, place of residence, Brooke County, W. Va.; post
office, Steubenville, O. First year.

* From the beginning of the Society's existence an effort has been made, when a member joined, to secure a short biographical sketch of him. In most cases these sketches have been furnished and published not only in the annual volume of the year that the member was first enrolled, but in subsequent volumes. The first of these sketches were published in Volume II. This biographical matter has become so extensive that it cannot be longer repeated without considerable expense and inconvenience. It has been decided, therefore, to repeat hereafter only the name and address of old members and the year in which they joined, as above. By referring to the volume of the year in which a member joined, or any subsequent volume up to the seventh, inclusive, his biographical sketch can be found. For example, Rev. Stuart Acheson joined the first year, and his sketch appears in all volumes from the second to the eighth. Mr. William H. Alexander joined in 1891, and his sketch can be found in the third volume (or that of 1891), and other volumes up to the eighth. The names of new members who have joined this year, and of old members who desired correction, have been placed in a supplemental list which follows.

ARMSTRONG, GEORGE WASHINGTON, 80 Utica Street, Boston, Mass. 1891.

BAIRD, THOMAS HARLAN, Monongahela City, Washington County, Pa. First year.

BALLAGH, JAMES C., Lexington, Va. 1895.

BARCLAY, THOMAS, Steubenville, O. First year.

BARR, WILLIAM PATRICK, Jacksonville, Morgan County, Ill. First year.

BAXTER, ISAAC C., Detroit, Mich. First year.

BEATTY, GEN. JOHN, Columbus, O. 1893.

BEGGS, ROBERT, 306 West Twenty-ninth Street, New York City. 1890.

BELL, BENNETT NELSON, Lexington, Va. 1895.

BELL, JAMES, 421 Sixth Street, Portland, Ore. 1892.

BLACK, JOSEPH K., Springfield, O. 1893.

BLACK, MOSES, Mansfield, O. 1893.

BLACK, ROBERT T., Scranton, Pa. First year.

BLACK, ROBERT THOMPSON, JR., 201 Franklin Avenue, Scranton, Pa. 1895.

BLAINE, JOHN, Cowles, Webster County, Neb. 1895.

BLAIR, J. C., Huntingdon, Pa. 1895.

BLAIR, JAMES, Scranton, Pa. 1891.

BLAIR, MORRIS WILLIAM, Kossuth, Des Moines County, Ia. 1892.

BLAIR, SAMUEL S., Tyrone, Pa. First year.

BLAIR, WILLIAM, 174 Lake Street, Chicago, Ill. 1893.

BLANTON, REV. LINDSAY HUGHES, D.D., Richmond, Ky. First year.

BOGLE, REV. SAMUEL, Kenton, O. 1893.

BONNER, ROBERT, 8 West Fifty-sixth Street, New York City. First year.

BORLAND, JOHN, Mason City, Ia. 1894.

BOWMAN, ROBERT SEVERS, Berwick, Pa. 1892.

BRADBURY, SAMUEL, 5440 Wayne Avenue, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1893.

BREADNER, J. T., Port Henry, N. Y. First year.

BRICE, CALVIN STEWART, Lima, Allan County, O. 1893.

BRIGGS, CAPT. JOSEPH B., Russellville, Ky. First year.

BROWN, ROBERT KNOX, Whitinsville, Mass. First year.

BRUCE, HELM, Louisville, Ky. 1891.

BRYSON, REV. JOHN H., D.D., Huntsville, Ala. First year.

BUCHANAN, J. N., Morgantown, W. Va. 1893.

CALDWELL, FRANK, Velasco, Tex. 1893.

- CALDWELL, HARRY M., Bruin, Butler County. Pa. First year.
CALDWELL, JOHN DAY, 233 West Fourth Street, Cincinnati, O.
First year.
CALDWELL, JUDGE JOHN R., Toledo, Ia. 1894.
CALDWELL, REV. ROBERT ERNEST, 1426 East Broadway, Louisville,
Ky. 1891.
CALHOUN, HON. DAVID SAMUEL, Hartford, Conn. First year.
CALHOUN, LIEUT. FRED S., United States Army, 23 Willis Avenue,
West Detroit, Mich. 1895.
CALHOUN, JAMES R., 915 South Forty-eighth Street, Philadelphia,
Pa. First year.
CAMPBELL, CHARLES, Ironton, Lawrence County, O. 1891.
CAMPBELL, DAVID ALLEN, Lincoln, Neb. 1895.
CAMPBELL, PROF. HARRY D., Lexington, Va. 1895.
CAMPBELL, JAMES DAVID, Spartanburg, S. C. 1891.
CAMPBELL, GOV. JAMES E., Columbus, O. First year.
CAMPBELL, JOHN LYLE, Lexington, Va. 1895.
CAMPBELL, REV. ROBERT FISHBURNE, D.D., Asheville, N. C. 1895.
CARLISLE, CHARLES ARTHUR, South Bend, Ind. 1894.
CARLISLE, DAVID, 103 Franklin Street, New York. 1895.
CARLISLE, WILLIAM SMYTH, 405 Classon Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
1891.
CARPENTER, J. McF., Pittsburg, Pa. First year.
CASADY, SARAH CONARBOE, 708 Fifth Street, Des Moines, Ia. 1894.
CASADY, SIMON, 708 Fifth Street, Des Moines, Ia. 1894.
CASADY, HON. PHINEAS MCCRAY, Des Moines, Ia. First year.
CASH, MRS. ROSE WILLIAMSON, 1421 O Street, Washington, D. C.
CHARLTON, ALEXANDER GOW, Omaha, Neb. 1891.
CHRISTIE, EDWARD PAYSON, Springfield, O. 1893.
COCHRAN, A. P. LINN, Springfield, O. 1893.
COCHRAN, J. HENRY, Williamsport, Pa. 1893.
COCHRAN, COL. JAMES C., Foley Mills, Augusta County, Va. 1895.
COCHRAN, RICHARD E., York, Pa. 1895.
COCHRAN, SAMUEL DAVIES, D.D., 1512 R. Street, Lincoln, Neb.
1894.
COCHRAN, SAMUEL POYNTZ, P. O. Box 119, Dallas, Tex. 1894.
COOKE, GEORGE, St. Joseph, Mo. First year.
CORBIT, JOSEPH, 433 W. Twenty-third Street, New York City. 1893.
COTTER, GEORGE SAXVILLE, Springfield, O. 1893.
COX, FREDERICK WARREN, M.D., Vermillion, S. Dak. 1891.
COYNER, CHARLES L., San Diego, Tex. 1894.

- CRAIG, DR. ALEX, Columbia, Pa. First year.
CRAIG, MRS. MARGARET C., New Alexandria, Pa. 1891.
CRAIG, ROBERT, Dayton, O. 1893.
CRAWFORD, PROF. F. B., McDonough, Md. 1893.
CREIGH, THOMAS ALFRED, 1505 Farnam Street, Omaha, Neb. First year.
CUTCHEON, HON. BYRON M., Grand Rapids, Mich. 1891.
DAILY, WILLIAM ANDERSON, 214 West One Hundred and Fourth Street, New York City. 1892.
DALZELL, HON. JOHN, Pittsburg, Pa. 1890.
DAVIS, MRS. LYDIA ANN BUSHFIELD, Newton, Kan. 1893.
DEAN, W. D., Kenton, O. 1893.
DICKSON, ALEXANDER WALKER, Scranton, Pa. First year.
DICKSON, MISS CAROLINE STUART, 616 Quincey Avenue, Scranton, Pa. 1890.
DICKSON, THOMAS, Troy, Ken County, N. Y. 1892.
DINSMOOR, JAMES, Sterling, Ill. 1894.
DINSMORE, JOHN, Glen Ritchie, Pa. 1893.
DINSMORE, WILLIAM VANCE, San José, Cal. 1893.
DOHERTY, WILLIAM WISNER, 27 School Street, Boston, Mass. First year.
DOLAND, ARTHUR W., Spokane Drug Company, Spokane, Wash. First year.
DORAN, HON. PETER, Grand Rapids, Mich. 1892.
DRIPPS, DR., Savannah, Ga. 1895.
DRUMMOND, HON. JOSIAH HAYDEN, Portland, Me. First year.
DUNLAP, DR. A., Springfield, O. 1893.
DUNLAP, CHARLES O'NEAL, M.D., Athens, O. 1891.
DUNLAP, REV. S. P., Springfield, O. 1893.
EARLY, M. C., Cripple Creek, Colo. 1895.
EARLY, T. C., Cripple Creek, Colo. 1895.
ECCLES, REV. ROBERT KERR, Salem, O. 1891.
EDMISTON, DR. DAVID WALLACE, Clinton, Ill. 1894.
EDMONSON, REV. JAMES, Marshallton, Ia. 1894.
ELDER, JOSHUA REED, Harrisburg, Dauphin County, Pa. First year.
ELWYN, REV. ALFRED LANGDON, 1422 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. First year.
ERWIN, FRANCIS, Painted Post, Steuben County, N. Y. 1892.
EVANS, SAMUEL, 432 Locust Street, Columbia, Pa. First year.
EVANS, THOMAS GRIER, 49 Nassau Street, New York City. 1890.

- EWING, HON. NATHANIEL, Uniontown, Fayette County, Pa. 1890.
EWING, JUDGE THOMAS, Pittsburg, Pa. First year.
FAIRLY, COL. JOHN SPENCER, Charleston, S. C. 1892.
FERGUESON, CHARLES, President National Underwriters' Association, Chicago, Ill. 1894.
FERGUSON, EDWARD ALEXANDER, Fourth and Main Streets, Cincinnati, O. First year.
FINLAY, ARTHUR M., Galveston, Tex., or St. Louis, Mo. 1892.
FINLAY, COL. J. B., 35 Wall Street, New York City.
FINLAY, JAMES, Eureka, S. D. 1894.
FINLEY, REV. GEORGE WILLIAM, D.D., Fishersville, Augusta County, Va. 1895.
FISHBURNE, JAMES A., Waynesboro, Va. 1892.
FLEMING, ALEXANDER P., 1312 West Ninth Street, Des Moines, Ia. 1894.
FLEMING, DAVID DEANS, 1003 Locust Street, Des Moines, Ia. 1892.
FLEMING, WILLIAM HENRY, 1220 East Walnut Street, Des Moines, Ia. 1892.
FOSTER, HON. MORRISON, Shields, Pa. First year.
FRAME, JAMES A., 107 East Seventieth Street, New York City, N. Y. 1892.
FREW, JOHN, 25 and 27 Fourteenth Street, Wheeling, W. Va. 1891.
FREY, GEORGE HENRY, Springfield, O. First year.
FREY, ISAAC WARD, Springfield, O. 1893.
FREY, ROBERT RODGERS, 20 South Eighth Street, Council Bluffs, Ia. 1894.
FULLERTON, ROBERT, Des Moines, Ia. 1894.
GALLOWAY, TOD BUCHANAN, 553 E. Town Street, Columbus, O. 1893.
GAMBLE, MRS. MARY MCGILL, Plattsburg, N. Y. 1893.
GARDNER, JAMES, Post Office Box 540, Cumberland, Md. 1893.
GARDNER, WILLIAM, Box 373, Pittsburg, Pa. 1893.
GARVIN, JOHN C., Dumont, Clear Creek County, Colo. 1895.
GILLESPIE, MRS. JOHN, 1332 South Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
GIVEN, DR. A., 1403 West Jefferson Street, Louisville, Ky. 1891.
GLASGOW, FRANK T., Lexington, Va. 1895.
GLASGOW, WILLIAM ANDERSON, Lexington, Va. 1895.
GLENNY, JOHN CLARK, Buffalo, N. Y. 1893.
GORDON, HON. ARMISTEAD CHURCHILL, 330 East Beverly Street, Staunton, Va. 1895.
GORDON, WILLIAM, 2719 Jackson Street, Sioux City, Ia. 1894.

- GRAGG, ISAAC P., 53 State Street, Boston, Mass. 1892.
- GRAHAM, AUGUSTUS WASHINGTON, Oxford, N. C. 1891.
- GRAHAM, DAVID WILSON, M.D., 672 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill. 1894.
- GRAHAM, DR. GEORGE W., Charlotte, N. C. 1895.
- GRAHAM, JOSHUA ARCHELAUS, Room 310 German American Bank Building, St. Joseph, Mo. 1892.
- GRANGER, COL. BARLOW, Des Moines, Ia. 1894.
- GRAY, M. L., 3756 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo. First year.
- GREER, JOSEPH M., Knoxville, Tenn. 1892.
- GREGG, WILLIAM HENRY, 3013 Pine Street, St. Louis, Mo. 1893.
- GROVES, THOMAS PORTER, Hendersonville, Tenn. 1890.
- GUILD, MRS. MARY STILES PAUL, 3 Rindgefield Street, North Cambridge, Mass. 1891.
- HAGAN, JUDGE FRANCIS M., Springfield, O. 1893.
- HALL, REV. DR. JOHN, 712 Fifth Avenue, New York City. First year.
- HALL, SAMUEL MAGOWAN, 563 Freeman Avenue, Kansas City, Kan. 1894.
- HAMILTON, A. C., Galveston, Tex. 1890.
- HAMILTON, REV. DAVID STUART, Columbia, Lancaster County, Pa. 1893.
- HAMILTON, MRS. VIRGINIA COINER, Tupper Lake, N. Y. 1895.
- HAMMOND, A. J., Cadiz, Harrison County, O. First year.
- HAMMOND, DR., New York City. 1895.
- HARRIS, ARTHUR COPLEY, City Hall, Denver, Colo. 1895.
- HAYS, JAMES A., Mountain Home, Elmore County, Idaho. 1895.
- HEMPHILL, GEORGE, Silverton, San Juan County, Colo. 1895.
- HEMPHILL, JAMES CALVIN, 32 South Battery, Charleston, S. C. 1893.
- HENDERSON, JOHN, Johnstown, Cambria County, Pa. 1891.
- HENRY, WILLIAM HAMILTON, 734 East One Hundred and Fortieth Street, New York City. 1892.
- HENRY, WILLIAM WIET, LL.D., Richmond, Va. First year.
- HERRON, COL. W. A., Pittsburg, Pa. First year.
- HOTCHKISS, JED, "The Oaks," 346 East Beverly Street, Staunton, Va. 1891.
- HOUSTON, REV. SAMUEL, Kingston, Ontario, Canada. 1890.
- HOUSTON, WILLIAM PAXTON, Lexington, Va. First year.
- HOWARD, J. B., Galena, Ill. First year.
- HUMPHREYS, PROF. DAVID CARLISLE, Lexington, Va. First year.

- HUNTER, W. HUGH, Dallas, Tex. 1891.
HUNTER, WILLIAM HENRY, Steubenville, Jefferson County, O. First year.
IRVINE, ROBERT TATE, Big Stone Gap, Va. 1893.
IRWIN, WILLIAM, 1070 Lexington Avenue, New York City. 1893.
JACK, REV. HUGH, Des Moines, Ia. 1894.
JACKSON, F. WOLCOTT, Newark, N. J. 1891.
JOHNSTON, JAMES NICHOL, 383 Pennsylvania Street, Buffalo, N. Y. 1891.
JOHNSON, JOHN HUGHES, 428 North Seventh Street, Keokuk, Ia.
JOHNSON, ROBERT, Springfield, O. 1893.
JOHNSTON, ANDREW MACKENZIE, Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz County, Cal. 1891.
JOHNSTON, REV. HOWARD A., 589 Bowen Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
JOHNSTON, JAMES, JR., Springfield, O. 1893.
JOHNSTON, WILLIAM PRESTON, New Orleans, La. First year.
JONES, HON. BRECKINRIDGE, 303 North Main Street, St. Louis, Mo. 1894.
JONES, REV. G. CHAPMAN, D.D., T.C.D., 3903 Forbes Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1894.
KASSON, HON. JOHN A., 1726 I Street, Washington, D. C. 1894.
KEATLEY, COL. JOHN HANCOCK, Dispatch Building, St. Paul, Minn. 1894.
KELLEY, REV. DAVID CAMPBELL, Columbia, Tenn. First year.
KELLOGG, RACINE D., 1406 Eleventh Street, Des Moines, Ia. 1894.
KELLY, E. S., Springfield, O. 1893.
KELLY, O. W., Springfield, O. 1893.
KELLY, OLIVER S., Springfield, O. 1892.
KENNEDY, G. C., Lancaster, Pa. First year.
KERFOOT, SAMUEL H., 139 Rush Street, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
KERR, FRANK H., Steubenville, O. 1891.
KIDNEY, JAMES, 119 to 121 East Second Street, Cincinnati, O. First year.
KING, LOUIS W., Youngstown, O. 1893.
KINKADE, SAMUEL, Nashville, Tenn. First year.
KNOX, REV. JAMES H., 13 East Preston Street, Baltimore, Md. 1893.
KYLE, JAMES, 131 Vinton Street, Providence, R. I. 1892.
LAMBERTON, CHARLES LYTLER, 46 West Twenty-second Street, New York City. 1890.
LATIMER, JAMES WILLIAM, York, Pa. First year.
LAWTHER, HARRY P., Dallas, Tex. 1894.

- LITHGOW, HON. JAMES S., Louisville, Ky. 1891.
- LIVINGSTON, THOMAS MOORE, M.D. Columbia, Pa. 1892.
- LOGAN, REV. SAMUEL CROTHERS, D.D., LL.D., Scranton, Pa. First year.
- LOGAN, JUDGE SAMUEL T., Knoxville, Tenn. 1892.
- LONG, DANIEL ALBRIGHT, D.D., LL.D., Yellow Springs, O.
- MACLOSKIE, PROF. GEORGE, LL.D., Princeton, N. J. First year.
- MAGEE, GEORGE I., Corning, N. Y. 1891.
- MAGILL, JOHN, 148 Second Street, Troy, N. Y. 1891.
- MAHOOD, EDWIN BLOW, 921 Liberty Street, Pittsburg, Pa. First year.
- MALLOY, ED NASH, Gunnison City, Gunnison County, Colo. 1891.
- MARTIN, JOHN, 6 Couch Street, Plattsburg, N. Y. 1892.
- MATHEWS, GEORGE BREWSTER, 830 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y. 1895.
- MACAFEE, JOHN BLAIR, 16 Exchange Place, New York City. 1895.
- MACINTOSH, REV. J. S., D.D., 1334 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. First year.
- McAFEE, ROBERT, cor. Antrim and California Avenue, Allegheny City, Pa. 1895.
- McALARNEY, MATTHIAS WILSON, Harrisburg, Pa. 1891.
- McCALL, ANSEL JAMES, Bath, Steuben County, N. Y. First year.
- McCANN, FRANCOIS, 180 Carpenter St., Providence, R. I. 1895.
- McCARTER, THOMAS NESBITT, LL.D., Newark, N. J. First year.
- McCARTNEY, ROBERT JAMES, Silverton, San Juan County, Colo. 1895.
- McCASKEY, WILLIAM SPENCER, major Twentieth Infantry U. S. army, Fort Leavenworth, Kan. 1895.
- McCAUGHEY, E. S., Sioux City, Ia. 1894.
- McCLAUGHRY, CHARLES CHASE, California Avenue and Twenty-sixth St., Chicago, Ill.
- McCLAUGHRY, ROBERT WILSON, Pontiac, Ill.
- McCLELLAN, JUDGE ROBERT ANDERSON, Athens, Ala. First year.
- McCLELLAND, JOSEPH WILSON, Lansdowne, Delaware County, Pa. 1892.
- McCLELLAND, THOMAS, Forest Grove, Ore. 1894.
- McCLELLAND, WELLS B., Steamboat Springs, Routt County, Colo. 1894.
- McCLINTICK, WILLIAM T., Chillicothe, O. First year.
- McCLURE, COL. ALEX KELLY, Times Building, Philadelphia, Pa. First year.

- McCLURE, WILLIAM, New York Stock Exchange, New York City. 1891.
- McCONKEY, MILTON MATTOX, Springfield, O. 1893.
- McCONNELL, SAMUEL D., D.D., 1318 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 1892.
- McCOOK, HON. ANSON G., 303 Broadway, New York City. 1892.
- McCOOK, GEORGE W., Steubenville, O. First year.
- McCORMICK, CYRUS HALL, 34 Huron Street, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- McCOY, DR. ALEX, Pekin, Ill. First year.
- McCREA, HUGH, Nashville, Tenn. 1893.
- McCREADY, WILLIAM STEWART, Black Hawk, Sauk Co., Wis. 1891.
- McCREERY, JAMES CRAWFORD, 801 Broadway, New York City. 1894.
- McCRICKART, S., 1010 Penn Avenue, Pittsburg, Pa. First year.
- McCULLAGH, REV. ARCHIBALD, Worcester, Mass. 1893.
- McCULLOCH, CHAMPE CARTER, care of Surgeon General United States army, Washington, D. C. 1895.
- McCUNE, E. J., Shippensburg, Pa. 1893.
- McCURDY, REV. O. B., Duncannon, Pa. First year.
- McCUTCHEON, JAMES, 14 West Twenty-third Street, New York City. 1894.
- McDONALD, ALEXANDER, Cincinnati, O. First year.
- McDONALD, ANDREW WELLINGTON, Steubenville, O. First year.
- McDONALD, DANIEL W., Uniontown, Fayette County, Pa. 1893.
- McDOWELL, COL. H. C., Lexington, Ky. First year.
- McDOWELL, DR. HERVEY, Cynthiana, Ky. First year.
- McDOWELL, HERVEY, JR., Cynthiana, Ky. 1893.
- McDOWELL, MISS MAGGIE, Lexington, Va. 1895.
- McDOWELL, SAMUEL JAMES POLK, Lockhart, Caldwell County, Tex. First year.
- McDOWELL, WILLIAM OSBORNE, 61 Lincoln Park, Newark, N. Y. First year.
- McFARLAND, WILLIAM M., 904 East Grand Avenue, Des Moines, Ia. 1894.
- McGAGAN, HON. SAMUEL, Dallas, Tex. 1894.
- McGINNIS, ALEXANDER, Prairie Du Sac, Wis. 1891.
- McGOWAN, DAVID, Steubenville, O. First year.
- McGUIRE, DR. HUNTER, 513 East Grace Street, Richmond, Va. First year.
- McILHENNY, MRS. BERNICE, Upsal Station, near Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. First year.
- McILHENNY, JOHN, 1339 to 1349 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa. First year.

- McILHENNY, OLIVER, Salem, O. 1891.
- McINTIRE, ALBERT, Springfield, O. 1893.
- McKAY, JAMES B., 115 Griswold Street, Detroit, Mich. First year.
- McKENNA, DAVID, Slatington, Lehigh County, Pa. 1891.
- McKINLEY, HON. WILLIAM, Canton, O. 1892.
- McLANAHAN, J. KING, Hollidaysburg, Pa. First year.
- McLAUGHLIN, DR. J. T., Springfield, O. 1893.
- McLAUGHLIN, JUDGE WILLIAM, Lexington, Va. First year.
- McLAURY, DR. JAMES SAVAGE, 270 Broadway, New York City. 1892.
- McLAURY, WILLIAM MUIR, M.D., 244 West Forty-second Street, New York City. 1895.
- McMATH, FRANK M., 515 Chamber of Commerce, Detroit, Mich. 1895.
- McMILLAN, ALEX, 22 Allston Street, Providence, R. I. 1894.
- McMILLAN, SAMUEL, 247 Central Park, West New York City. 1891.
- McMILLAN, SAMUEL J. R., LL.D., St. Paul, Minn. 1892.
- McMURRY, MRS. A. E., Des Moines, Ia. 1894.
- McNALLY, REV. WILLIAM, Northumberland, Pa. 1893.
- McNEAL, HON. ALBERT T., Bolivar, Tenn. First year.
- McNUTT, HON. SAMUEL, Muscatine, Ia. 1893.
- McSHANE, DANIEL, Cynthiana, Ky. First year.
- McVEY, COL. E. H., Des Moines, Ia. 1894.
- McWILLIAMS, JOHN, 6 West Ninety-sixth Street, New York City. First year.
- McWILLIAMS, JOHN G., 3945 Lake Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 1893.
- McWILLIAMS, LAFAYETTE, 3961 Lake Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 1893.
- MEANS, ARCHIBALD, Peru, La Salle County, Ill., 1895.
- MEANS, JOHN McCLELLAND, 47-49 South Jefferson Street, Chicago, Ill. 1893.
- MILLER, HENRY R., Keokuk, Ia. 1893.
- MILLER, JUDGE JOHN C., Courthouse, Springfield, O. 1893.
- MILLER, COMMODORE JOSEPH W., Commandant Navy Yard, Boston Mass. 1893.
- MILLER, W. H., 25 West One hundred and Fourth Street, New York City. First year.
- MITCHELL, REV. G. W., Wales, Tenn. First year.
- MOFFETT, GEORGE HENRY, Clifton Forge, Va. 1895.
- MONTGOMERY, FRANK WARREN, No. 2 Wall Street, New York City. 1894.

- MONTGOMERY, COL. JOHN ALEXANDER, Birmingham, Ala. 1892.
MONTGOMERY, WILLIAM G., Birmingham, Ala. 1891.
MOORE, ARMOUR J., 1417 South Fourteenth Street, Denver, Colo.
First year.
MOORE, G. W., Arnold, Morgan County, Ill. 1894.
MOORE, COL. ORRIN E., 234 Haight Street, San Francisco, Cal. 1895.
MOORE, SILAS M., Clark and Washington Street, Chicago, Ill. 1893.
MORRISON, ISAAC L., Jacksonville, Morgan County, Ill.
MORRISON, HON. LEONARD ALLISON, Canobie Lake, N. H. 1891.
MORROW, DAVID, 1502 Capouse Avenue, Scranton, Pa. 1890.
MORROW, PAOLI S., 29 East Main Street, Uniontown, Fayette County, Pa. 1893.
MORTLAND, ROBERT, Linden Avenue, Allegheny City, Pa. 1893.
MORTLAND, WALTER G., Linden Avenue, Allegheny City, Pa. 1894.
MUNRO, REV. JOHN HENRY, D.D., 714 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 1891.
MURPHY, REV. A. A., New Brunswick, N. J. 1893.
MURRAY, CHARLES S., Columbia, Lancaster County, Pa. 1893.
NEILSON, ROBERT, Williamsport, Pa. 1893.
NELSON, PROF. ALEXANDER LOCKHART, Lexington, Va. 1895.
NELSON, JOHN FRANKLIN, Paris, Ill. 1891.
NELSON, ROBERT, 342 Summit Street, Toledo, O. 1891.
OLIVER, DAVID B., Termon Avenue, Allegheny City, Pa. 1895.
OMELVENA, REV. JAMES, Washington, Ind. First year.
ORR, CHARLES EDGAR, 419 Wood Street, Pittsburg, Pa. First year.
ORR, JOHN G., Harrisburg, Pa. First year.
ORR, ROBERT A., 419 Wood Street, Pittsburg, Pa. First year.
ORR, WILLIAM B., 419 Wood Street, Pittsburg, Pa. 1890.
PADEN, GEO. MILLIKEN, Union National Bank, Pittsburg, Pa. 1892.
PARK, REV. JAMES, Knoxville, Tenn. 1891.
PARKE, REV. N. G., D.D., Pittston, Pa. First year.
PARVIN, THEODORE SUTTON, Cedar Rapids, Ia. 1894.
PATTERSON, C. GODFREY, 135-137 Broadway, New York City.
PATTERSON, DAVID BROWNLEE, Des Moines, Ia. 1894.
PAXTON, REV. JOHN R., D.D., E. Hampton, Long Island, N. Y. 1895.
PEALE, REMBRANDT R., Philadelphia, Pa. 1893.
PEALE, SAMUEL RICHARD, Lock Haven, Pa. 1893.
PEARCE, EUGENE H., D.D., Danville, Ky. 1891.
PERRY, PROF. ARTHUR LATHAM, Williamstown, Mass. First year.
PETTIGREW, JOHN GRAHAM, 208 East Seventieth Street, N. Y. 1892.
PETTIGREW, ROBERT, 163 East Seventy-first Street, New York City.
1891.

PETTY, MRS. ANNA M., 341 West Fourth Street, Cincinnati, O.
First year.

PILLOW, DR. ROBERT, Columbia, Tenn. First year.

POAGUE, COL. WILLIAM THOMAS, Lexington, Va. 1895.

POGUE, HENRY, Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, O. First year.

POGUE, SAMUEL, Avondale, Cincinnati, O. First year.

POLK, JEFFERSON SCOTT, Des Moines, Ia. 1891.

POLLOCK, JAMES, Dauphin and Tulip Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
1894.

POLLOCK, O. W., captain Twenty-third Infantry, United States
army, Fort Clark, Brackettsville, Tex. 1891.

POLLOCK, WILLIAM J., 734 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia,
Pa. 1891.

PORTER, JAMES, Reinbeck, Grundy County, Ia. 1894.

PORTER, WM. WAGENER, 623 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 1893.

PRESTON, WILLIAM CARUTHERS, Richmond, Va. 1895.

RADOLIFFE, REV. WALLACE, D.D., Detroit, Mich. 1894.

RANKEN, HENRY S., The Homestead, Pawling Avenue, Troy, N. Y.
1891.

RANKIN, RICHARD C., Ripley, Brown County, O. 1893.

REID, REV. ALEXANDER McCANDLESS, PH.D., Steubenville, Jefferson
County, O. 1891.

REID, JOHN, 177 West Fourth Street, Cincinnati, O. First year.

ROBERTS, HON. ORAN M., 2102 August and Twenty-second Streets,
Austin, Tex. 1891.

ROBERTSON, S. A., Des Moines, Ia. 1894.

ROBINSON, JAMES, 25 Chestnut Street, East Orange, N. J. 1893.

RODGERS, ISAAC WARD, Springfield, O. 1893.

RODGERS, JAMES G., Springfield, O. 1893.

RODGERS, JAMES RENWICK, 2029 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
1893.

RODGERS, DR. JOHN H., Springfield, O. 1893.

RODGERS, RICHARD H., Springfield, O. 1893.

RODGERS, ROBERT COCHRAN, Springfield, O. 1893.

RODGERS, CAPT. ROBERT L., 16½ Whitehall Street, Atlanta, Ga.
1891.

ROPER, HON. DAVID D., Slatington, Lehigh County, Pa. 1891.

ROSS, JOSHUA, Tahlequah, Ind. T. 1894.

RUDDICKS, WILLIAM, Steubenville, Jefferson County, O. First year.

RUFFNER, WILLIAM HENRY, LL.D., Lexington, Va. First year.

- RUSSELL, JOHN, 863 Sawyer Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 1890.
RUTHERFORD, REV. EDWIN HUBBARD, Paris, Ky. 1893.
RUTHERFORD, WILLIAM FRANKLIN, Harrisburg, Dauphin County, Pa.
First year.
SAMPSON, JOSEPH, Sioux City, Ia. 1894.
SCOTT, COL. JOHN, Nevada, Ia. 1894.
SCOTT, JOHN LAUGHLIN, Sonyea, N. Y. First year.
SCOTT, JUDGE JOHN M., Bloomington, Ill. First year.
SCOTT, WILLIAM, Indianapolis, Ind. 1891.
SCOTT, WILLIAM L., 69 St. James Avenue, Springfield, Mass. 1895.
SEARIGHT, GEORGE, Hendersonville, Sumner County, Tenn. First
year.
SEARIGHT, JAMES A., Uniontown, Pa. First year.
SHALLABARGER, HON. SAMUEL, Washington, D. C. 1893.
SHANKLIN, GEORGE SEA, 112 East Fourth Street, Lexington, Ky.
SHARPE, W. L., Steubenville, O. 1891.
SHAW, JAMES, D.D., Bloomington, Ill. 1893.
SHAW, WILLIAM CONNOR, M.D., 135 Wylie Avenue, Pittsburg, Pa.
First year.
SHERRARD, MISS NANCY, Washington, Washington County, Pa.
1890.
SIMPSON, C. M., 509 Paladis Building, Duluth, Minn.
SIMPSON, ROBERT, Cincinnati, O. First year.
SINCLAIR, JOHN, No. 1 Broadway, New York City. 1891.
SLOAN, SAMUEL, P. O. Box 2090, New York City. 1892.
SLOAN, SAMUEL, 12 Broadway, New York City. 1893.
SMITH, ANDREW, Cadiz, O. First year.
SMYTH, REV. GEORGE HUTCHINSON, D.D., 39 Hawthorne Avenue,
East Orange, N. Y. 1891.
SMYTH, JOHN G., 77 Board of Trade, Chicago, Ill. 1895.
SMYTHE, AUGUSTINE THOMAS, 7 Broad Street, Charleston, S. C.
1893.
SPEER, WILLIAM MCMURTRIE, 224 West Fifty-ninth Street, New
York. 1891.
SPENCER, DANIEL, Piqua, Miami County, O. First year.
SPENCER, MOSES GREGG, Piqua, Miami County, O. First year.
SPOULL, REV. A. W., D.D., Bordentown, N. J. 1895.
STEELE, REV. PROF. DAVID, D.D., 2102 Spring Garden Street, Phil-
adelphia, Pa. First year.
STEPHENS, BENJAMIN F., Elkhart, Ind. 1892.
STEPHENS, HERRICK E., 317 Main Street, Elkhart, Ind. 1895.

- STERRETT, MRS. MARIA B. C., Lexington, Va. 1895.
- STEVENSON, HON. ADLAI E., Bloomington, Ill. First year.
- STEVENSON, REV. JOHN OGILVIE, Waterloo, Ia. 1894.
- STEVENSON, REV. SAMUEL HARRIS, McLean, Ill. 1890.
- STEWART, DAVID, 335 North Franklin Street, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- STEWART, HON. GIDEON TABOR, Norwalk, O. First year.
- STEWART, JOHN, 59 West Ninth Street, New York City. 1893.
- STEWART, THOMAS ELLIOTT, 203 Broadway and 164-168 Fulton Street, New York City. 1895.
- STITT, W. C., D.D., 76 Wall Street, New York City. 1890.
- STUART, INGLIS, Post Building, 16 Exchange Place, New York City. 1890.
- STUART, SAMUEL CHRISTOPHER, 1429 Moravian Street, Philadelphia, Pa. First year.
- TAGGART, JOHN D., Louisville, Ky. First year.
- TAGGART, WILLIAM W., M.D., Wooster, O. First year.
- TARBET, REV. WILLIAM L., Orleans, Morgan County, Ill. First year.
- TEMPLE, JUDGE O. P., Knoxville, Tenn. First year.
- THAW, MRS. WILLIAM, Fifth Avenue, East End, Pittsburg, Pa. 1890.
- THOMAS, WILLIAM GEORGE, 71 South Grove Street, East Orange, N. J. 1891.
- THOMPSON, EMMET BOLES, 610 Wood Street, Pittsburg, Pa. First year.
- THOMPSON, REV. FRANK P., Redwood City, Cal. 1893.
- THOMPSON, RT. REV. HUGH MILLER, Jackson, Miss. 1891.
- THOMPSON, JOSIAH V., Uniontown, Fayette County, Pa. 1891.
- THOMPSON, ROBERT MEANS, 37 to 39 Wall Street, New York City. 1891.
- THOMSON, ALEXANDER, Crawfordsville, Montgomery County, Ind. 1893.
- THOMSON, REV. E. P., Springfield, O. 1893.
- THOMPSON, GEORGE THOMAS, Walla Walla, Wash. 1895.
- TOMPKINS, WILLIAM ISRAEL, 8 Sibley Place, Rochester, N. Y. 1895.
- TORRENCE, REV. JOSEPH WILLIAM, D.D., Seven Mile, Butler County, O.
- TORRENS, FINLEY, 420 Frankstone Avenue, East End, Pittsburg, Pa. First year.
- TOWLE, STEVENSON, 421 East Sixty-first Street, New York City. 1893.
- TUCKER, HON. HENRY ST. GEORGE, Staunton, Va. 1895.

- VANCE, DR. ALLEN H., Springfield, O. 1893.
WADDELL, F. J., Jacksonville, Ill. First year.
WADDELL, HON. JOSEPH A., Staunton, Va. 1895.
WALLACE, DR. A. G., Sewickley, Pa. 1891.
WALLACE, HENRY, PH.D., Des Moines, Ia. 1892.
WALLACE, PROF. HENRY C., Ames, Ia. 1894.
WALLACE, MRS. NANNIE C., Des Moines, Ia. 1894.
WATTERSON, HON. HENRY, Louisville, Ky. 1895.
WEYMAN, MRS. MARTHA STOCKTON LOTHROP, Fitchburg, Mass. 1895.
WHITE, HENRY ALEXANDER, M.A., PH.D., D.D., Lexington, Va. First year.
WHITE, HON. JAMES B., Fort Wayne, Ind. 1891.
WILLFORD, WILLIAM, Canton, Fillmore County, Minn. 1892.
WILLIAMS, J. J., Des Moines, Ia. 1893.
WILLIAMSON, LANDON CABELL, 216 Indiana Avenue, Washington, D. C. 1893.
WILLIAMSON, SAMUEL, ELADSI, Cleveland, O. 1891.
WILLOUGHBY, REV. J. W. C., Washington College, Tenn. 1891.
WILLSON, PROF. FREDERICK N., Prince Georges, N. J. 1892.
WILSON, E. FULLERTON, Washington C. H., O. 1895.
WILSON, JAMES E., P. O. Box 27, Washington, D. C. 1893.
WILSON, JOHN H., Springfield, O. 1893.
WILSON, L. M., Binghamton, N. Y. First year.
WILSON, THOMAS HUDSON, Binghamton, N. Y. First year.
WILSON, W. S., Springfield, O. 1893.
WOOD, ANDREW TREW, Elmwood, Hamilton, Ont. First year.
WOOD, MRS. JANE WHITE, Elmwood, Hamilton, Ont. First year.
WOODS, MICAHAH, Charlottesville, Va. 1895.
WOODSIDE, REV. NEVIN, 25 Granville Street, Pittsburg, Pa. First year.
WRIGHT, RICHARDSON L., 4308 Frankford Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa. 1891.
WRIGHT, COL. THOMAS T., Nashville, Tenn. First year.
WRIGHT, WILLIAM J., 214 Garfield Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1893.
WYLIE, WALKER GILL, 28 West Fortieth Street, New York City, N. Y. 1894.
YOUNG, HON. HUGH, Wellsboro, Pa. First year.

SUPPLEMENTAL LIST OF MEMBERS.*

ARMOUR, W. C., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

ALBRICKE, LEVI B., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

BLAIR, JOHN SYLVANUS, 1416 F Street, Washington, D. C. 1896.

BRADBURY, MRS. MARY ANNA, 5441 Wayne Avenue, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1896.

Born in Philadelphia, Pa.; great-granddaughter of Robert Aiken, who printed the first English edition of the Bible in America, at Philadelphia, in 1781, 1782.

BOYD, JOHN YEOMANS, 124 Pine Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Danville, Montone County, Pa.; son of James Boyd and Louise Yeomans; wholesale coal dealer.

BOYD, JAMES, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Northumberland County, Pa.; son of John C. Boyd and Hannah Montgomery; wholesale coal dealer.

BROWN, DR. JAMES MORRISON, 421 Maclay Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Chattanooga, Tenn.; physician; medical examiner Pennsylvania Railroad Relief Department.

BELLAS, THOMAS H., 1634 Prairie Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 1896.

BOYD, D. TRUMAN, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

BARNETT, JAMES E., Washington, Pa. 1896.

BARNETT, MISS M. B., Washington, Pa. 1896.

BRADIN, OLIVER, 117 N. Twenty-first Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 1896.

BARBER, SPENCER F., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

BARNETT, JAMES T., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

BRYAN, REV. WM. PLUMMER, Pastor Church of the Covenant, Chicago, Ill. 1896.

COCHRAN, JAMES WASSON, 990 Boyden Road, Columbus, O. 1896.

Born in Lexington, Ky. For genealogy see that of Sam. P. Cochran, Dallas, Tex., Volume 7, page 291. Fire insurance.

*The members whose names are given above are those who have joined the present year, whose biographical sketches are published for the first time, and of old members that desired considerable corrections in the matter concerning them heretofore published. In the next volume their names will be placed in the general list in alphabetical order.

CREIGHTON, GEORGE E., Wishart, Office Pennsylvania Railroad, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Philadelphia, Pa.; father Scotch-Irish, born in Ireland; mother of Scotch-Irish parents; superintendent Middle Division Pennsylvania Railroad.

CLARK, JOSEPH NELSON, M.D., 1111 North Third Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born near Dillsburg, York County, Pa.; son of James Clark and Margaret E. Nelson; physician and druggist; Sergeant Major Seventh Regiment Pennsylvania Reserve Corps; member of Harrisburg school board; trustee and superintendent reviewing department Westminster Presbyterian Church, Harrisburg, Pa.

CHAMBERS, REV. GEORGE, D.D., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

CONWAY, REV. DAVID, St. Joy, Pa. 1896.

COOPER, JOHN T., 1068 Avery Street, Parkersburg, W. Va. 1896.

Born in Parkersburg, W. Va.; son of John Thomas Cooper and Louisa L. Cooper; John Thomas Cooper, Sr., son of James and Nancy Cooper (Virginia), Louisa L. Linn, daughter of Robert and Catherine Linn (Virginia); lawyer; B.S. West Virginia University; B.A. Howard University; deacon in Presbyterian Church; instructor in Parkersburg High School; secretary Mt. Olivet Lodge, A. F. and A. M.; Recorder of Calvary Commandery, K. T., Parkersburg.

DUNGAN, WARREN SCOTT, Chariton, Ia. 1894.

Born at Frankfort Springs, Beaver County, Pa.; son of David Davis Dungan and Mary Davis Dungan; great-great-grandson of John Scott, who settled in Bucks County, Pa., about 1725. John Scott the first had three sons—Dr. Moses, who was a surgeon; Matthew, who was a captain; and John, who was Commissary General of the Pennsylvania Line—all in the patriot army of the Revolution; Mr. Dungan was a great-grandson of John Scott the second; Mrs. Benjamin Harrison was a great-granddaughter of John Scott the second; and Mrs. Lucy Hayes was a great-granddaughter of Capt. Matthew Scott. Mr. Dungan was named for Col. Joseph Warren Scott, late of New Brunswick, N. J., who was a son of Dr. Moses Scott; Col. Scott, of New Brunswick, was one of the leading lawyers of New Jersey; Senator in Ninth General Assembly of Iowa; Representative in Eighteenth and Nineteenth General Assemblies; Lieutenant Governor elected in 1893 for two years; was a delegate to the

Republican National Convention at Philadelphia in 1872, and a Grant Presidential Elector for the Seventh Congressional District; in the Union Army for over three years during the rebellion, and was mustered out lieutenant colonel Thirty-fourth Iowa Infantry, and brevet colonel, U. S. V.; three times chosen by the Des Moines Presbytery a delegate to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church; an elder in the Presbyterian Church of Chariton, Ia.

DAVIDSON, JAMES WOOD, Box 644, Washington, D. C. 1896.

Born in Newberry County, S. C., March 9, 1829; son of Alexander Davidson, who was a son of Alexander Davidson, Sr., a native of Cromarty, Scotland, who emigrated to Ireland, and about 1750 to Craven County, S. C.; graduated with distinction in the South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C., in 1852, receiving the degree of M.A. in 1855; professor of Greek, Mt. Zion Collegiate Institute, Winnsboro, S. C., five years; during the war served under Stonewall Jackson, in Virginia, part of the time as adjutant of infantry regiment; lost everything in the war; lived eleven years in New York City; moved to Florida in 1884; represented Dade County in the Constitutional Convention, 1885; and in the State Legislature in 1887; moved to Washington for temporary residence in 1887; published "The Living Writers of the South" in 1869, "A School History of South Carolina" in 1869, "The Correspondent" in 1886, "The Poetry of the Future" in 1888, and "The Florida of To-day" in 1889; member of Advisory Committee on Spelling and Pronunciation of Standard Dictionary, in 1893; engaged now in writing a "Dictionary of Southern Authors."

DONAGHEY, JOHN, Providence, R. I. 1896.

DULL, DANIEL M., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

DINSMORE, JOHN WALKER, D.D., 46 North Eighth Street, San José, Cal.

Born in Washington County, Pa., in the large country house on the estate of his ancestors, which now shelters the fifth generation of his name and blood; son of William and Rebecca Anderson Dinsmore; Scotch-Irish to the marrow, all his ancestors being of that race; two of his forefathers were officers in the Revolution; one was an officer in the colonial wars; one was a charter member of the Society of the Cincinnati; others have been active members in every war in America since; graduated from Washington College, Pa., and Allegheny Theological Sem-

inary; missionary in Wisconsin; for twenty-one years pastor of a very large congregation in Bloomington, Ill.; now pastor of First Presbyterian congregation, San José, Cal.; was for many years a Director in McCormick Theological Seminary; a member of the General Assembly's Board of Aid for Colleges; Moderator of the Synod of Illinois; by appointment of the President of the United States a Visitor to the Naval Academy in 1883, and to West Point in 1893; Director of San Francisco Theological Seminary, and President of the Board, in 1894; member of the Executive Committee of the Scotch-Irish Society of America; degree of LL.D. conferred by Washington and Jefferson College.

ELY, REV. GEORGE WILSON, Columbia, Pa. 1896.

Born in Hamilton Square, N. J.; grandfather on mother's side was Robert Bellville; his great-grandfather, Philips Bellville, was a Huguenot; his mother was a Barr, a genuine Scotch-Irish woman; minister of the gospel; pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Columbia.

EVANS, ELIZABETH HENDERSEN, Portsmouth, O. 1895.

Born in Middleton, O.; daughter of Joseph Hendersen and Sarepta Campbell Denham, of Middleton, O.; granddaughter of William Hendersen and Nancy Jamieson, of Crossland, County Derry, Ireland; great-granddaughter of William Hendersen and Nancy Wells, of Crossland, County Derry, Ireland; member of Board of Managers of the Presbyterian Hospital and Woman's Medical College, of Cincinnati, O.

ELDER, REV. JAMES S., D.D., Clarion, Clarion County, Pa. 1896.

Born in Eldersridge, Indiana County, Pa.; son of David and Juliana Elder; minister of the gospel.

EVANS, MISS LILIAN SLAYMAKER, 432 Locust Street, Columbia, Pa. 1896.

Born in Columbia, Pa.; daughter of Samuel Evans and Mary Shoch; granddaughter of Alexander Evans and Hannah Slaymaker; great-granddaughter of Samuel Evans and Frances Lowrey; great-great-granddaughter of Alexander Lowrey and Anna West; first member of Daughters of the American Revolution in Pennsylvania, and organized Donegal Chapter in Lancaster County, Pa., April, 1892.

ELDER, JOHN WILSON, M.D., Clarion, Pa. 1896.

Born in Limestone Township, Clarion County, Pa.; physician. See biographical sketch of Rev. J. S. Elder.

ELKIN, JOHN PRATT, Indiana, Pa. 1896.

Born in Smicksburg, Indiana County, Pa.; son of Scotch-Irish parents; lawyer; school director; trustee Normal School; member of the Legislature, delegate Republican National Convention at St. Louis in 1896, Deputy Attorney-general of Pennsylvania.

FRASER, ABEL McIVER, Staunton, Va. 1895.

Born in Sumter, South Carolina; pure Scotch-Irish extraction on both sides; Presbyterian minister; pastor of Mt. Horeb, Walnut Hill, and Bethel Churches in the Presbytery of "West Lexington," of the Southern Church, and recently pastor of the First Church of Staunton, Va.

FENNER, MRS. JOSEPH, 406 Chestnut Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Belfast, Ireland; father Scotch, mother Irish.

FLEMING, SAMUEL WILSON, 104 South Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Harrisburg, Pa.; son of Robert Jackson Fleming, son of Samuel Fleming, son of Robert Fleming, who left Ulster in 1746 and first settled in Chester County, Pa.: merchant; mayor of Harrisburg.

FULTON, JOHN. First year.

Scotch-Irish, born in County Tyrone, Ireland; educated at Erasmus Smith's School and at Ardtrea Classical Seminary; studied civil engineering in Dublin; superintending works and completing North Branch canal, Pa., 1848-52; assistant engineer Junction canal, 1852-54; assistant engineer Barclay railroad, 1854-56; resident civil and mining engineer Huntingdon and Broad Top Railroad Company, 1856-74; chief engineer Bedford and Bridgeport railroad, under Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1870-73; general mining engineer, Cambria Iron Company, 1874-87; general superintendent C. I. Company, 1887-88; general manager Cambria Iron Company, 1888-92; retired from service of C. I. Company, 1893; assistant geologist for Cambria and Somerset Counties, under Prof. J. P. Lesley, State Geologist, second geological survey of Pennsylvania, 1887; now (1896) practicing profession of mining engineer and interested in coke manufacture; Mr. Fulton is a member of American Institute of Mining Engineers, American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and author of treatise on "The Manufacture of Coke," etc.

FOSTER, MAJ. R. H., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

GEDDES, CHARLES KING, Williamsport, Pa. 1896.

Born October 2, 1834, in Newville, Cumberland County, Pa., and is the fourth son and fifth child of Dr. John Peebles Geddes and

Catharine Irwin Maclay, both of pure Scotch-Irish lineage. His father was the son of Dr. John Geddes and Elizabeth Peebles, a grandson of William Geddes and Sarah McAllen, and a great-grandson of James Geddes and Margaret Hamilton Muir, who, with their three sons, Paul, William, and Samuel, emigrated from County Antrim, Ireland, to Pennsylvania, in 1752, and settled first in Chester County, and afterwards near Derry Church, in Lancaster, now Dauphin County, Pa. His mother was a daughter of Hon. William Maclay and Margaret Culberton, a granddaughter of John Maclay and Jane Dickson, and a great-granddaughter of Charles Maclay and Eleanor Query, who, with their infant son, John, emigrated from County Antrim, Ireland, to Pennsylvania in 1734, and settled first in Chester County, and afterwards in what is now Lurgan Township, Franklin County, Pa. Mr. Geddes graduated from Jefferson College, Cannonsburg, Pa., August 4, 1852; and afterwards taught in various localities in Pennsylvania, Missouri, Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Ohio. During this time he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in Pittsburg, Pa., September 4, 1858, but did not begin practice until the fall of 1864, when he settled in Williamsport, Pa., where he still continues to reside and practice his profession.

GEARHEART, WILSON M., Danville, Pa. 1896.

Born in Gearheart Township, Northumberland County, Pa., lineal descendant of Joseph Martin, who was born in Londonderry, Ireland, and came to America in 1800 and settled in Lancaster County, Pa., where he married Sarah Houston, whose ancestry came from Scotland about 1670; grandson of Joseph Martin and Sarah Houston; son of Martha Martin and John Gearheart; attorney and chief clerk State Department, Harrisburg; clerk in Provost Marshall's office as a boy during the war; prothonotary and clerk of courts of Montone County, Pa., for twelve years; chief clerk of State Department, Harrisburg, and Secretary of Board of Pardons for eight years; Secretary of Pennsylvania Committee of Columbian Exposition 1891-93.

GAUSE, HARRY TAYLOR, Wilmington, Del. 1896.

Born in Wilmington, Del.; son of John Taylor Gause and Martha Jane Flinn; on mother's side grandson of Elizabeth Bigger Carey and John Flinn; great-grandson of Andrew Carey and Mary Ann Bigger, who came to America in 1793; great-great-grandson of Anthony Carey, of Donaghadu, County Down, Ireland, and Jane Wright; the family of Carey were offshoots of

the original stock of Careys, founded in Somersetshire, England, since the Norman Conquest; Mary Ann Bigger, of Belfast, Ireland, was the daughter of Joseph Bigger and Sarah Ponsonby, daughter of Rt. Hon. John Ponsonby, of Dublin, Ireland (brother of Earl of Bessborough), and Lady Elizabeth Cavendish; Rt. Hon. John Ponsonby was the son of Baron Brabazon Ponsonby, first Earl of Bessborough, son of Baron William Ponsonby, Viscount Duncannon, son of Sir John Ponsonby; the Flinns were Scotch-Irish from Ulster, originally descended directly from the McDonnells, one of the oldest of the Scotch families; on father's side grandson of Harlan Gause and Rebecca Taylor; great-grandson of William Gause and Mary Beverley, daughter of Samuel Beverley and Ruth Jackson; Samuel Beverley was the son of William Beverley, son of Samuel Beverley, of Bally Macree, County Antrim, Ireland; came to America in 1712. This Beverley family is identical with the old Yorkshire English family of Beverley, whose pedigree goes back into early times; H. T. Gause's mother is Rebecca Taylor, daughter of John Taylor, son of Abraham Taylor, and Jane Stewart, daughter of Alexander Stewart; Alexander Stewart was kidnapped with many other Scottish youths in 1696 or 1697, and was brought to America early in 1697, and indentured or sold for a term of service; this kidnapping of a whole shipload of children belonging to such excellent Scottish families as Fraser, McDonald, Stewart, Bruce, Douglass, was one of the most mysterious and interesting cases of the kind that history records; graduate of Yale, class of 1873, S.Ph.B.; married October 21, 1874, to Virginia Gregory Ingersoll, daughter of ex-Gov. Charles R. Ingersoll; and grand-daughter of Admiral Gregory, U. S. N.; Vice President and Secretary of the Harlan and Hollingsworth Company, builders of steamships, railway cars, architectural cabinet works, etc.

GALBRAITH, BERTRAM GILLESPIE, 1530 North Second Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Bainbridge, Lancaster County, Pa., September 7, 1845; son of Bertram G. and Elizabeth F. Galbraith; grandson of Col. Bertram Galbraith, of local Revolutionary fame; junior partner of Galbraith Brothers, Granolithic Paving Road Company.

HANNA, CHARLES AUGUSTUS, Lincoln, Neb. 1895.

Born at Cadiz, Harrison County, O., December 28, 1863; son of Neri Augustus and Eliza Jane Phillips Hanna, both now liv-

ing at Cadiz, O.; grandson of John Evans Hanna (President Judge Eighth Ohio Judicial Circuit in 1840-47 and 1854) and Susanna Robertson Hanna, of McConnellsville, O.; and of John and Elizabeth Gilmore Phillips, of Cadiz, O.; great-grandson of John Hanna (first Auditor and Associate Judge, Harrison County, O.), and Anne Leonard Hanna, of Westmoreland County, Pa., and Harrison County, O.; and of Robert and Beulah Stanley Robertson, of Loudoun County, Va.; and of William and Rachel Hamilton Phillips, of West Nottingham Township, Chester County, Pa.; and of Samuel Gilmore (lieutenant Second Ohio Militia, War of 1812) and Elizabeth Buchanan Gilmore, of Cadiz, O.; and great-great-grandson of John Hanna, who settled in Ligonier Valley, Westmoreland County, Pa., about 1770; and of James Leonard (born in Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, Ireland) and Mary Finley Leonard, daughter of John Finley, who emigrated from County Armagh, Ireland, landing in Philadelphia September 28, 1734; and of Martha Berkley Finley, of Westmoreland County, Pa.; and of John Robertson (born in Edinburgh), and Eleanor Dick, of Alexandria, Va.; and of Zachariah and Susanna Mendenhall Stanley (Quakers) of Loudoun County, Va.; and of Thomas Phillips (member in 1776 of Capt. Ephraim Blackburn's West Nottingham Company in Col. Evan Evan's second battalion of Chester County Militia) and Janet Blair Phillips, of West Nottingham Township, Chester County, Pa.; and of Robert and Martha McMillen Hamilton, of Cecil County, Md.; and of Nathaniel and Sarah McFadden Gilmore, of County Cavan, Ireland; and of William Buchanan, of County Londonderry, Ireland, and Washington County, Pa.

HALL, REV. THOMAS CUMMING, 408 North State Street, Chicago. 1896.

Born in Armagh, Ireland; son of Dr. John Hall, of New York; came to America in 1857; entered Princeton in 1875, and graduated in 1879; entered Union Theological Seminary in 1879, and graduated in 1882; studied in Berlin and Göttingen; first pastorate, Omaha; went from there to Chicago in 1886; pastor Fourth Presbyterian Church, Chicago.

HACKETT, MRS. HELEN FRANCES, Emlen Street, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1896.

Born in Philadelphia; daughter of Rev. John Chambers, born in Stewartstown, County Tyrone, Ireland, and Helen McHenry, great-granddaughter of Rev. Francis McHenry, of County An-

trim, Ireland, who came to America an ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church in 1735, and was made pastor of the Deep Run and Neshaminy congregations in Bucks County, Pa.

HAYES, DANIEL, Silverton, Colo. 1896.

Born in Eastern Ontario, Canada; grandfather on father's side born in County Antrim, Ireland; mother's ancestors came from Scotland; mill man.

HENDERSON, MISS NANCY, "The Hamilton," Washington, D. C. 1896.

Born near Middletown, Butler County, O.; daughter of Joseph Henderson, native of Londonderry County, Ireland, and Sarepta Campbell Denham; granddaughter of William Henderson and Nancy Jamieson, Londonderry County, Ireland; great-granddaughter of William Henderson and Nancy Wells, of Londonderry County, Ireland.

HUFFMASTER, JAMES TAYLOR, Galveston, Tex. 1896.

Born in Newport, Ky., July 30, 1842; son of James Weitzell Huffmaster and Sarah Canfield Herrington, widow of Abram William Cottle; she was a daughter of Daniel Herrington, a soldier of the American Revolution, and Mary McCrea, who was a daughter of Thomas McCrea and Elizabeth Mills, daughter of John Mills; Thomas McCrea was a son of John McCrea and Hannah Hicks, daughter of John Hicks; Thomas McCrea emigrated with his family to America soon after the Revolution, and settled in Crawford County, Pa., where he died in 1813; Mary McCrea Herrington died in Newport, Ky., in 1851; Sarah Canfield Herrington Huffmaster died in Galveston, Tex., in 1892; the McCrea family lived in Londonderry and Tyrone County, Ireland; ancestors were in Derry during the siege of 1688; Confederate soldier in the Civil War, and was in the battles of Barboursville, Ky., Mill Spring, Shiloh, and Murfreesboro, where he was severely wounded and captured; bank accountant; local preacher.

HOUSTON, ARCHIBALD WOODS, Toledo, O. 1895.

Born in Waynesboro, Augusta County, Va.; son of Rev. William Wilson Houston, D.D., and Mary E. Waddell; paternal grandparents Matthew Hall Houston and Catherine Wilson Houston; Hugh Houston came from Wightonsire, Scotland, to Ireland; there he married Sarah Houston, of the County of Antrim (Ireland) family of Houstons; their son Samuel Houston married Margaret McClung, and their son John Houston mar-

ried Margaret Cunningham; this John Houston came to America early in the eighteenth century; remained for a time in Pennsylvania, and then removed to "Borden's Grant," prior to 1750, now in Rockbridge County, Va.; this son, John Houston, married Sarah Todd; their son, Matthew Houston, married Patsey Cloyd, and their son, Matthew Hall Houston, married Catherine Cunningham Wilson; on mother's side, the great-great-grandson of Rev. James Waddell, the "Blind Preacher," of Revolutionary fame; manufacturer of iron and steel.

HOPKINS, MRS. ELLEN MARIA DUNLAP, 25 East Thirtieth Street, New York City. 1896.

Born in New York City; great-great-granddaughter of the Rev. Robert Dunlap, first Presbyterian minister settled in Brunswick, Me.; came to this country in 1719 from Barrilla, County Antrim, Ireland; direct descendant of the Dunlaps, of Dunlap, of which family was Sir William Wallace.

HERSH, GRIER, York, Pa. 1896.

Born in York, Pa.; descended from Col. Robert McPherson, Col. David Grier, Capt. William McClelland, Archibald McLean, and others; President of York National Bank.

HARVEY, CAPT. JOHN C., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

HAMILTON, A. BOYD, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

The following is a short sketch of the Scotch-Irish ancestry of Mr. A. Boyd Hamilton, who was elected a member of the Society at its Harrisburg meeting, but who died October 28, 1896:

James Hamilton and Katharine, his wife, emigrated from Lanarkshire, Scotland, to "free lands of Ulster," in Ireland, where he became a considerable land owner; their only child, John, was born 1702, and died June 5, 1775; he married in 1748, his second wife, Jane Allen (born 1715, and died February 4, 1791), daughter of Robert and Mary Allen, and granddaughter of Capt. Thomas Allen, of Royal Navy; their son John was born June 17, 1745, and died August 28, 1793; served as a captain in the war of the American Revolution, in two companies, 1776 and 1781; married in December, 1772; Margaret Alexander was born March 17, 1754, and died August 22, 1835, at Fermanagh, Juniata County, Pa., daughter of Hugh Alexander and Martha Edmeston; their son Hugh was born June 30, 1785, at Fermanagh, Juniata County, Pa., and died at Harrisburg, Pa., September 3, 1836; an ancestor, Adam Boyd, was an officer in the army of

Charles I., Scottish division, sent to Ireland June 5, 1649; one of his sons was Rev. Adam Boyd, whose son, Adam Boyd, was also a Presbyterian minister; in 1714 John, son of Adam, came to Philadelphia; in 1715 married Jane Craig; their son John, born 1716, married in 1744 Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Young, an Ulster baronet; their eldest son was Adam, father of Rosanna; Adam Boyd Hamilton, eldest son of Hugh and Rosanna Hamilton, was born at Harrisburg, Pa., September 18, 1808, and died October 28, 1896, the last survivor of a family of ten children.

HAMILTON, HUGH, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

HERR, DANIEL COYLE, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

JOHNSON, R. V., Washington, Pa. First year.

Born September 23, 1841; son of John Johnson and Rebecca Van Eman, of Scotch-Irish parentage on both sides; surveyor; married Miss West Anna Lee, of Cross Creek, Pa.

JACKSON, EDWIN WALLACE, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Big Beaver Township, Beaver County, Pa.; paternal great-grandfather Samuel Jackson, born in Scotland, removed to County Armagh, Ireland, about 1750, and thence to America about 1798; paternal grandparents, James Jackson and wife, Nancy Shields, born in County Armagh, as was maternal grandfather, Matthew Mitchell; maternal grandmother born during voyage of her parents from Ulster to America; parents, Samuel Stewart Jackson and Nancy Mitchell, born in Pennsylvania; attorney at law; member Pennsylvania Legislature, 1875-1878.

KING, EDGAR L., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

KUNKEL, MRS. ELIZABETH CRAIN, 17 South Front Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Harrisburg, Pa.; daughter of Dr. William Rutherford and Eleanor Reed Crain; granddaughter of Col. Richard M. Crain, war of 1812-1815; great-granddaughter of Hon. Robert Whitehall; great-great-granddaughter of Capt. Adam Reed, who fought in the French and Indian War, 1755; wife of Hon. John C. Kunkel, member of Congress, 1854; president of the Home for the Friendless, of the city of Harrisburg.

LYNN, SAMUEL, Whitinsville, Mass. 1896.

Born in Gorton, Aghadowey, Londonderry County, Ireland; came to Boston, Mass., July 21, 1881; bookkeeper; elder in Wilkinsville United Presbyterian Church, Sutton, Mass.

MACRUM, ISAAC ALLEN, Portland, Ore. 1896.

Born in Pittsburg, Pa., April 7, 1842; ancestors on father's side came from Scotland to County Down, Ireland; ancestors on mother's side came from England to County Down, Ireland; son of Samuel Barker Macrum and Jane Allen, born and married in Ireland; came to America about 1830; went to Oregon in 1871; lawyer; teacher in high schools; cashier Mechanics National Bank ten years; State Railroad Commissioner, State Legislator 1893-1896.

MENEELEY, GEORGE W., Sandy Run, Luzerne County, Pa. 1896.

Born in Tamaqua, Schuylkill County, Pa., September 30, 1856; son of Alexander and Mary (Davis) Meneeley, natives of the North of Ireland, who came to this country in 1842 and located in Tamaqua; in the family were nine children; at the age of six years George W. began working in the mines at Eckley, and has since followed mining in nearly every capacity; in 1886 he entered the employ of the M. S. Kemmerer Coal Company as inside foreman, which position he still retains; was married April 30, 1889, to Miss Jennetta Lester, of Sandy Run; member of the P. O. S. of A. Camp 91, of Hazleton; Junior Order of United American Mechanics; member school board of Foster Township.

MOORE, MAJ. JOS. ADDISON, Camp Hill, Cumberland County, Pa. 1896.

Born in Shirleysburg, Huntingdon County, Pa.; son of Dr. James Moore and Harriet Barton; his ancestors, Robert and Margaret Moore, emigrated from Derry County, Ireland, early in the eighteenth century to Maryland; one of eight brothers who were all in the Union army at one time; first sergeant Company D., Fifth Pennsylvania Infantry, August 17, 1861, took the field as first lieutenant under Gen. John W. Geary, under whom he served all through the war; after the Antietam battle his company was transferred and became Company B, One Hundred and Forty-seventh Pennsylvania Infantry, and in February, 1863, he was commissioned captain, commanding at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg in the east, and Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga, Taylor's Ridge, Cassville, Rocky Face Ridge, Dug Gap, Resacca, and New Hope Church, Ga., in the southwest; was severely wounded at New Hope Church; brevetted major for gallant and meritorious service; at the close of the war resumed mercantile pursuits at Pittsburg, Pa.; in 1867 took charge of White Hall Soldiers' Orphan School at Camp Hill, Pa.; in 1869 was married to Miss Lizzie C., daughter of Jacob and Elizabeth Kline, of Mechanicsburg, Pa.; dealer in real estate.

MILLER, WILLIAM, Silverton, Colo. 1896.

Born in Ture, County Donegal, Ireland; son of William Miller and Jean Calhoun.

MILLER, JOHN S., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

MIDDLETON, WILLIAM H., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

MONTGOMERY, JOSEPH, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

MARTIN, REV. SAMUEL A., D.D., President Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa. 1896.

MEGINNESS, EDWIN E., Steelton, Pa. 1896.

MEGINNESS, JOHN F., Williamsport, Pa. 1896.

Born in Lancaster County, Pa., July 16, 1827; Scotch-Irish ancestors came from County Down; great-grandfather served in the Revolutionary War; journalist.

MARTIN, MRS. MARY SHARON, 271 North Limestone Street, Springfield, O. 1896.

Born in Mercersburg, Pa.; daughter of Abram Smith McCoy, and Harriet Newell Sharon McCoy, who was a daughter of Rev. James Russell Sharon. William Sharon, of Ayrshire, Scotland, removed to Ulster County, Ireland; his son, James Sharon, married Elinor Finley in Ulster, Ireland; removed to Cumberland County, Pa., and settled near Blue Mountains, in 1737; his son, Hugh Sharon, who was prominent in the colonial war, had a son Samuel, who was lieutenant in the Revolutionary War in 1776; was a Justice of the Peace; married Sarah Russell; their eldest son, James Russell Sharon, pastor for thirty-six years of the Churches of Paxtang and Derry; married Esther Culbertson, daughter of James Culbertson, of "Culbertson Row," near Chambersburg; their daughter, Harriet Newell Sharon, married Abram Smith McCoy, a descendant of Hon. Robert Smith, of Smiths' Run, Montgomery Township, Pa.

McCORKLE, THOMAS E., Lexington, Va. 1895.

Born February 27, 1845; son of Thomas McCorkle and Susan Alexander; Thomas McCorkle, son of John McCorkle, who was a lieutenant in Morgan's Riflemen, and died of a wound received at the battle of Cowpens in 1781; Susan Alexander was a daughter of William Alexander, son of William, son of Robert, who emigrated from County Antrim, Cunningham Manor, Ireland, 1740; lawyer.

McCOOK, COL. JOHN J., 120 Broadway, New York City. 1893.

For historical sketch of the McCook family see "Scotch-Irish in America," Vol. VI., p. 161.

McCRAVY, SAMUEL TUCKER, Spartanburg, S. C. 1896.

Born in Spartanburg, S. C.; lawyer.

McCULLOCH, HENRY MARTYN, Presho, N. Y. 1896.

Born in Tioga, Pa.; son of Rev. S. J. McCulloch, son of John McCulloch and Mary Williamson, of Cumberland County, Pa.; Mary Williamson was the daughter of M. B. Thorp, son of William Thorp and — Rose, of Philadelphia, who came from Derry, Ireland, about 1750; collaterally descended from Sir William Wallace; farmer and miller.

MCGINNES, PROF. LEMUEL E., Steelton, Pa. 1896.

Born in Perry County, Pa.; son of John C., son of John, son of James McGinnes; James McGinnes was born in the North of Ireland in 1739; came to America from County Down in 1790, and settled in Philadelphia; Superintendent of Public Schools; Principal of Duncannon (Pa.) Public Schools for three years; Principal of Steelton High School for seven years; Superintendent of Steelton Public Schools from 1888 to present time.

MCALISTER, JOHN BARR, 234 North Third Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Carroll County, Md.; physician; visiting physician Harrisburg Hospital.

MCPHERSON, JUDGE JOHN BAYARD, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Harrisburg, Pa., November 5, 1846; descended from Robert and Janet McPherson, who came to Pennsylvania before 1749, and settled in York (now Adams) County. Their son Robert was a man of prominence in that region, serving as captain in the Provincial Service (1758-9), and as lieutenant in the Continental Line (1777-79); was also a colonel of the York Associators (1775-76), and a member of the Provincial Conference, which met at Carpenter's Hall in January, 1775, and a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, 1776; he held various civil offices in his county, sheriff, treasurer, commissioner, justice of the peace, and member of the Legislature (1765-67); one of his sons, William, was a lieutenant in Col. Mile's Rifles, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Long Island, August, 1776, and exchanged in April, 1778; Robert's wife was Agnes Miller; William was married to Mary Carrick, of Emmittsburg, Md., and their son, John Bayard, was married to Catherine Lenhart, of York, Pa.; Elizabeth Wallace, of Harrisburg, was the wife of William McPherson, the eldest son of John Bayard, and their son is Hon. John Bayard McPherson, the subject of this sketch; he was born at Harrisburg November 5, 1846;

graduated from Princeton College in 1866; admitted to the bar in Harrisburg, 1870; served as district attorney of the county, 1875-78, and as Judge of the Common Pleas since 1882; in December, 1879, was married to Annie Cochran, daughter of Daniel W. Patterson, Judge of the Common Pleas in Lancaster County, Pa.

McCARRELL, J. M., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

McMEEN, ROBERT, Mifflintown, Pa. 1896.

McKINLEY, REV. R. A., D.D., Ph.D., Steubenville, O. 1896.

McCOOK, REV. HENRY C., 3700 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 1896.

McCLELLAND, THOMAS S., 417 Superior Street, Chicago, Ill. 1892.

Born at Sharon, Beaver County, Pa.; son of Thomas and Esther (Wilson) McClelland; graduated from Williams College, Mass., in June, 1864; entered Federal army (Sherman's command) in Georgia and mustered out in July, 1865; admitted to the bar and commenced practice in June, 1867; grandfather was William McClelland, who settled at Mt. Jackson, Lawrence County (formerly part of Beaver), Pa., in 1808, where his father was born in 1809; great-grandfather was Thomas McClelland, who from about 1760 to his death, in 1809, lived near Newburg, Cumberland County, Pa.; Presbyterian family; mother's family were Covenanters; tradition says that the family ancestors passed over into Ireland from Kirkcudbright, Scotland, at a period known as the "Ulster Plantation;" his maternal grandfather was Robert Wilson, born in North of Ireland; sailed from Belfast, landing at Philadelphia, Pa., in 1775; in October, 1776, he enlisted as a private in Hawkins Boone's Company, Twelfth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line, commanded by Col. William Cook, enrolled from Northumberland County, Pa.; on July 1, 1778, he was transferred to the Third Pennsylvania Regiment of the Line; he was in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Valley Forge, and other battles of the Revolution; he served four years and four months in the Revolutionary army under Washington; at close of his military service he married Sarah Friend, in the Path Valley, Franklin County, Eastern Pennsylvania, and moved to South Beaver Township, Beaver County, Pa., where there were born to them eleven children, Esther being the youngest, born in 1807, who married Thomas McClelland about 1830; on April 23, 1818, Robert Wilson, being sixty-nine years old, applied for a pension, which was granted; he died October 2, 1824; see "Records of War and Pension Offices," Washington, D. C., also "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, Vol. X., pages 764 and 479, also records

of probate of his will and estate at Beaver, Beaver County, Pa.; Robert Wilson has descendants living at Beaver Falls, Pa., Lima, O., Darlington, Pa., New Brighton, Pa., and various other places in the United States; in 1820 Robert Wilson filed in the pension office a statement in which he stated that his family consists of his wife, an old woman, one son twenty-one years old, named Robert, and one daughter thirteen years old named Esther; his other children had married or died.

NORCROSS, REV. GEORGE, D.D., 243 South Hanover Street, Carlisle, Pa. 1896.

Born near Erie, Pa.; son of Hiram and Elizabeth (McClelland) Norcross; grandson of John Norcross, who was born September 22, 1783, in the State of New Jersey, and his wife, Margaret McCann, who was born about 1790 in North Ireland; John Norcross was the son of Abraham Norcross and Nancy Fleming, both of New Jersey; maternal grandparents were Thomas and Sarah (Gibson) McClelland; Sarah Gibson was the youngest daughter of Hugh Gibson, the Pennsylvania captive, whose mother, Mary (McClelland) Gibson, was killed when he was taken captive by the Indians, July, 1756, at Robinson's Fort, in Sherman Valley, then in Cumberland County, Pa.; after his escape from the Indians, Hugh Gibson married Mary White in the town of Lancaster, Pa.; George Norcross, D.D. was graduated from Monmouth College, Ill., in 1861; studied theology in Chicago, Monmouth, and Princeton; was ordained at North Henderson June 6, 1865; has been pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, Pa., since January 1, 1869; received degree from Princeton, 1879.

NICHOLSON, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Union, S. C. 1896.

Born in Aberdeen, S. C.; eldest son of James and Mary Nicholson; senior member of the banking house of William A. Nicholson & Son, Union, S. C.; member of the Presbyterian Alliance, held in Toronto, September, 1892; member of the Constitutional Convention for South Carolina, September, 1895; member "State Board of Control."

ORR, JOHN G., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born at Willow Grove Mills, near Orrstown, Franklin County, Pa.; son of William Orr, born in Franklin County; grandson of Thomas Orr, born in County Donegal, Ireland; in early life lived on farm; ten years in banking at Carlisle, Pa.; eleven years manager and part owner of *Valley Spirit*, daily and weekly newspaper of Chambersburg; manager of *The Patriot*, daily newspaper at Har-

risburg, Pa.; president of the Children's Aid Society of Franklin County, Pa., founded in 1884; this society with its two departments, one for friendless and homeless children and the other a general hospital for all classes, is one of the most successful organizations in the state; for several years a ruling elder in the Middle Spring Church, and now ruling elder in Falling Spring Church, of Chambersburg.

OGELSBY, WARWICK MILLER, 919 North Second Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Harrisburg, Pa.; trust officer the Commonwealth Guarantee Trust and Safe Deposit Company.

PARKE, WILLIAM GILKERSON, Scranton, Pa. 1896.

Born in Wilkes Barre, Pa.; fifth generation from Arthur Parke, a Scotch-Irishman from Ulster; settled in Chester County, Pa. in 1720; son of Rev. N. G. Parke, D.D., of Pittston, Pa.; merchant; interested in the mining of anthracite coal; elder in the Green Ridge Presbyterian Church, Scranton.

PATTERSON, ROBERT, Uniontown, Fayette County, Pa. 1896.

Born in Manor Cunningham; son of James Patterson and Sophia Stewart Patterson, of Errity, County Donegal, Ireland; grandson of James Patterson, of Drunnoughil, County Donegal, Ireland.

PARKER, MRS. JAMES, Philadelphia, Pa. 1896.

PRINCE, MISS MARGUERITE MCKENNA, Slatington, Pa. 1896.

Descended from the generation of Michael and Biddy Clyd, who emigrated from Derry, Ireland, in 1720, and settled in the old Irish settlement in Northampton County, Pa., which is eloquently referred to by Dr. Egle in his paper, which appears in this volume.

RALSTON, JAMES MCALLISTER, Mechanicsburg, Pa. 1896.

Born near Newville January 14, 1823; in 1839 located near Carlisle; removed in 1870 to Mechanicsburg; great-grandson of Andrew Ralston, who settled near Newville in 1728; great-grandson (on mother's side) of Archibald McAllister, who located near Carlisle about 1728; both of these ancestors were from the North of Ireland, and some of his ancestors were in the siege of Derry; one great-grandmother was a McClure, and one grandmother was a McClintock; mother was Lucy McAllister; mother's uncles, James and John McAllister, settled in Georgia, on the Ogeeche River, at Fort McAllister, which was taken by Sherman in his march to the sea; two others lived and died in Lexington, Ky., and Winchester, Va.; farmer.

ROBERTSON, JOHN F., Steubenville, O. 1896.

RICHARD, ROBERT A., Carlisle, Pa. 1896.

ROGERS, G. W., Dayton, O. 1896.

Born in West Hanover Township, Dauphin County, Pa., 1819; removed to Ohio in 1836; son of Robert and Isabella Carr Rogers; grandson of Andrew Rogers; lieutenant in Col. Timothy Green's battalion, 1776, in the Revolution; great-grandson of William Rogers, who settled at the forks of Swatara and Monaday Creeks (then Lancaster County) prior to 1730; on the maternal side mother was Isabella Carr (or Kerr), daughter of John Carr, of Warwicktown, Bucks County, Pa.; an Associator; in 1775 Trustee and Treasurer of Neshaminy Presbyterian Church; married Jane Wallace, daughter of James Wallace and Isabella Miller; daughter of Robert Miller, a son of William Miller, Sr., who came from Ireland prior to 1726. The latter donated the land in 1726 to Neshaminy Presbyterian Church, the original church and burying ground. James Wallace emigrated from North of Ireland prior to 1751; Trustee of Neshaminy Presbyterian Church, 1767; prominent member of Bucks County Committee of Safety, 1775-76; one of the Deputies from Bucks County to Conference of Provincial Deputies at Carpenter's Hall, 1774; member of Provincial Conference, Carpenter's Hall, 1776; Judge of Bucks County Courts, 1776-77; died in 1777; great-grandfather, Joseph Carr, from the North of Ireland prior to 1743; settled in Bucks County, Pa.; married Margaret Long, daughter of Andrew Long, of Bucks County, from the North of Ireland, about 1730; married Isabella Miller, daughter of William Miller, Sr., above named; G. W. Rogers was for a number of years Resident Trustee of the State Hospital for the Insane, Dayton, O.; a Director in the Dayton National Bank from its organization in 1865 to date; several years trustee of the First Presbyterian Church; retired merchant.

RUTHERFORD, WILLIAM SUMNER, Steelton, Pa. 1896.

Born at Paxtang, Dauphin County, Pa., October 29, 1871. Thomas Rutherford, the ancestor of William S. Rutherford, emigrated from Ireland to America about 1730; he was of Scotch descent; his father went to Ireland with William, Prince of Orange, and fought under him at the battle of the Boyne, and for bravery in battle was given a grant of land in the County Tyrone; clerk with the Pennsylvania Steel Company.

REED, JOSEPH R., Council Bluffs, Ia. 1894.

SCOTT, WILLIAM H., Philadelphia, Pa. 1896.

SIMONTON, JOHN W., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Hanover Township, Dauphin County, Pa.; paternal grandfather, Dr. William Simonton, born in County Antrim, Ireland, in 1755; came to Pennsylvania at the age of ten; received an academic and professional education as a physician; married Jane Wiggins, daughter of John Wiggins, Sr., of Paxtang, November 17, 1777; purchased a farm in West Hanover Township, 1784, where he lived until his decease, April 24, 1800; maternal grandfather, Rev. James Snodgrass, born in Bucks County, Pa., July 23, 1763; graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, 1783; studied theology under the direction of Rev. Nathaniel Irwin, pastor of the Church at Neshaminy; licensed to preach the gospel by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, December, 1785; ordained pastor of the Church and congregation of Hanover, Dauphin County, Pa., May 13, 1788; married Martha Davis, of Philadelphia; preached in Hanover for fifty-eight years, and died July 2, 1846, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in Hanover churchyard; his father, Dr. William Simonton, born in Hanover Township, 1788; received a classical education; graduated at Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1809; and practiced medicine in Hanover successfully until his death, May 17, 1846; was buried in Hanover churchyard; represented his district in the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh United States Congresses; married Martha Davis, daughter of Rev. James Snodgrass; she died April, 1862; lawyer; District Attorney of Dauphin County 1866 to 1869; elected President Judge of the Twelfth Judicial District of Pennsylvania in 1881 for ten years; reelected in 1892.

SMEAD, JANE STUART, Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pa. 1896.

Born in South Middleton Township, Cumberland County, Pa.; daughter of James T. and Martha J. (Woods) Stewart; granddaughter of Hon. John and Barbara (Stae) Stuart; great-granddaughter of Hugh and Ruth (Patterson) Stuart; granddaughter of Nathan and Jane (Means) Woods; great-granddaughter of William and Martha (Ramsey) Woods; great-great-granddaughter of William and Mary (Logan) Woods; great-granddaughter of John and Jean (Ramsey) Means; great-great-granddaughter of James and Janet Ramsey; paternal great-grandfather, Hugh Stuart, emigrated in 1784 from County Antrim, Ireland, to Cumberland County, Pa.; his ancestors were from Argylshire, Scotland; in 1790 he married Ruth Patterson, who had come over in childhood from Ulster or Scotland with her grandparents, William and Mary Patter-

son; John and Elizabeth (Cairns) Steen, parents of Mrs. John Stuart, also came from County Antrim in 1784; John and Barbara were married January 14, 1816; James T. and Martha J. (Woods) Stuart were married December 6, 1849; all other ancestors mentioned were of Scotch-Irish descent; William Woods, Sr., removed from Donegal to Cumberland County before 1749; Martha (Ramsey) Woods and Jean (Ramsey) Means were daughters of James and Janet Ramsey, who removed to Cumberland County before their death; the ancestors of John Means had emigrated from Ulster to Maine in 1718, and from there to Lancaster County, Pa., about 1720; wife of A. D. B. Smead, Esq.

SMILEY, CHARLES H., New Bloomfield, Pa. 1896.

Born in Shermansdale, Perry County, Pa.; ancestors on both sides Scotch-Irish; lawyer; soldier in the Civil War; prothonotary and clerk of courts of Perry; State Senator; President of Perry County Railroad Company.

SMYTH, ELLISON A., Pelzer, S. C. 1896.

Born in Charleston, S. C.; father, Thomas Smyth, D.D., born in Belfast, Ireland; forty-four years pastor Second Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C.; mother's father, James Adger, born in County Antrim, Ireland; merchant in Charleston, S. C., sixty years; mother's grandfather, Robert Ellison, born in County Antrim, Ireland; lived in South Carolina from 1744 until death; was Major Continental Army 1776; State Senator in 1792; Colonel Thirty-eighth Regiment, South Carolina Troops; member Legislature, and sheriff for many years; President Pelzer Manufacturing Company, and President Chicora Savings Bank; Pelzer Cotton Mills, four in number, largest in the South; Director in several financial, insurance, and other corporations; President Greenville, S. C., Board of Trade; captain Washington Artillery, Charleston, S. C., 1876; captain Greenville Guards, Greenville, S. C., 1892.

SMILEY, REV. GEORGE MILTON, B.D., 41 Exchange Street, Milford, Mass. 1896.

Born in Fitchburg, Mass., April 21, 1850; son of Charles, born January 26, 1819, settled in Fitchburg, Mass.; grandson of Elias, born July 10, 1783, settled in Jaffrey, N. H.; great-grandson of Dr. David, of Petersboro (see "History of Petersboro"), N. H., and Revolutionary soldier, born April 10, 1760; great-great-grandson of John, born in Ireland, 1720, and came with his father, three brothers, and one sister to America in 1727, and settled in Haverhill, Mass. (see "History of Haverhill and Windham, N. H.");

great-great-great-grandson of Francis Smiley, born in Londonderry, Ireland, 1689; Minister M. E. Church, New England Conference; served as pastor in West Medford, Worcester, Greenfield, Charlestown, Watertown, Ipswich; present pastor of a church of three hundred members; Chaplain Essex County Penal Institution, located at Ipswich; educated in public schools, Methodist seminary, and college and Drew Theological Seminary; Genealogical Historian of the American Smileys, volume in preparation.

SIMONTON, REV. WILLIAM, Emmittsburg, Pa. 1896.

SCOTT, WILLIAM H., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

SNODGRASS, FRANK P., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

SNODGRASS, ROBERT, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in West Hanover Township, Dauphin County; son of Benjamin Snodgrass, and grandson of Rev. James Snodgrass, last pastor of Hanover Presbyterian Church, Dauphin County, Pa.; lawyer; prothonotary of Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and Deputy Attorney-general of Pennsylvania.

STEWART, REV. GEORGE BLACK, 127 State Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

Born in Columbus, O.; son of Alexander Adams Stewart and Louisa Susannah Black; paternal grandparents James Stewart and Petershe Hill; maternal grandparents George Black and Mary Okesore; first three grandparents Scotch-Irish and the last Holland Dutch; clergyman; pastor Market Square Presbyterian Church, Harrisburg; Trustee of Princeton University; Trustee of Wills College for Women.

WILSON, BENJAMIN F., Spartanburg, S. C. 1896.

Born in Sumter, S. C., March 12, 1862; minister of the gospel; President of Converse College. See Volume 5, "National Cyclopaedia of Biography."

WILSON, JOHN THOMPSON, Lexington, Va. 1895.

Born in Timber Ridge, Rockbridge County, Va.; son of James Patton Wilson, son of David Wilson, son of Nathaniel Wilson, who came to the Valley of Virginia from Pennsylvania about 1760; mother was the daughter of Matthew T. Jamison, the son of John Jamison, who came from Ireland when he was seven years old, with his uncle in 1728, and settled near Carlisle, Pa.; on reaching manhood he removed to Augusta County, Va., near Staunton; Secretary Mountain City Lodge, No. 67, A. F. and A. M., Va.; was Master Mountain City Lodge, No. 67, A. F. and A. M., Va.; Secretary Rockbridge Royal Arch Chapter, No. 25, Va.; High Priest

Rockbridge Royal Arch Chapter, No. 25, Va.; District Deputy Grand Master of Masons, District No. 37, Va.; President Y. M. C. A., Lexington, Va.; Secretary and Treasurer Rockbridge County Fair Company; Secretary and Treasurer Rockbridge Mutual Fire Insurance Company; Local Treasurer Life Insurance Company of Virginia; Local Treasurer Old Dominion Building and Loan Association, Richmond, Va.; Local Agent National Building and Loan Association, Staunton, Va.

WRIGHT, HON. ROBERT E., Allentown, Pa. 1896.

WALLACE, WILLIAM A., Harrisburg, Pa. 1896.

WALLACE, WILLIAM S., Philadelphia, Pa. 1896.

WALKER, JOHN H., Fannettsburg, Franklin County, Pa. 1896.

Born in Fannettsburg, Pa., in 1834; great-grandfather, Alexander Walker, emigrated from North of Ireland in 1737, and settled in Chester County, Pa.; removed to Path Valley, near Fannettsburg, in 1761; family driven off and barn burned by the Indians, March, 1763, but returned in 1764; grandfather, Samuel Walker, resided on Mansion farm, and died in 1808; father, James Walker, born there in 1796, and died in Fannettsburg in 1849; captain of "Washington Blues," and lieutenant of Company H., One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers; member Legislature in 1861; tanner.

WALLIS, JOSEPH EDMUND, Galveston, Tex. 1896.

Born in Morgan County, Ala., April 30, 1835; son of Maj. Joseph Wallis, of Mechlinburg, N. C., and Elizabeth Crockett, daughter of Elijah Crockett, of South Carolina, and granddaughter of Gen. William R. Davie, of North Carolina; grandson of Rev. Joseph S. Wallis (formerly Wallace); great-grandson of John McKnitt Alexander, the Secretary of the Mechlinburg Convention making the Mechlinburg Declaration of Independence, May 19-20, 1775—all Scotch-Irish people—related to the Craighheads, Polks, Ramseys, Caldwells, Calhouns, etc.; wholesale merchant; private in the late war.

WALLACE, WILLIAM STEWART, 812 Girard Building, Philadelphia. 1896.

Born in Philadelphia May 30, 1862. Son of John Bower Wallace and Maria Louisa Le Page, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth (Gill) Le Page, French Protestants, from islands of Guernsey and Sark, respectively, who emigrated here with parents about 1818, and were children, respectively, of Peter and Mary Le Page and Philip and Mary (Baker) Gill; son of James Wallace,

of Warwick Township, Bucks County, Pa., and Mary Ford, of Monmouth County, N. J. (who was the daughter of James Ford, or Foord, and Mary Bower, daughter of Jacob Bower, all of New Jersey); son of Robert Wallace, of Warwick, Bucks County, Pa., and Mary Long, who was the daughter of Hugh Long and Mary Corbit, the former son of Andrew Long, from North of Ireland about 1730, the emigrant ancestor of the Longs of Bucks County, Pa., and Isabel Miller, daughter of William Miller, Sr., and Isabel —, who settled in Warwick, Bucks County, in 1726, one of the original settlers of S. I., settlement known as "Neshaminy" at that point; son of James Wallace, of Warwick, and Isabel Miller, who was the daughter of Robert Miller and —, he being the son of William Miller, Sr., above named; this James Wallace being the emigrant ancestor, coming from North of Ireland between 1720 and 1750 (exact date unknown); was Coroner of Bucks County; Trustee of Neshaminy Presbyterian Church; took prominent part in affairs of county and province during Revolution, being member of Committee of Safety and subcommittee of correspondence; member of Provincial Deputies at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, June, 1774; member Provincial Conference in 1776 at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia; Judge of Civil and Criminal Courts of Bucks County in 1777. Attorney at law. Secretary Law Academy of Philadelphia, 1886; member of Law Academy, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Sons of Revolution, Scotch-Irish Society of Pennsylvania; Secretary and Treasurer Kenilworth Inn Company, Bloomington Coal and Coke Company; Counsel for Central Coal and Coke Company, Auer Light Company, Etowah Iron Company, and other corporations.

For want of space list of State Societies and their members are omitted from this edition, but will doubtless be included in the next. They can be found in all preceding volumes.

MEMBERS WHO HAVE JOINED SINCE 1896.

LIST OF MEMBERS WHO HAVE JOINED THE SOCIETY SINCE 1896.

ANDERSON, ANNA HALE.

Wife of James A. Anderson, of Knoxville, Tenn., and daughter of Samuel Morrow and Malinda Armstrong, his wife. Robert Armstrong, her great-great-grandfather, emigrated from County Antrim, Ulster, in 1735. He was a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian. His family have ever kept this fact in loving memory. The old "Confession of Faith" used in the Kirk of Scotland, containing the vow taken by the Covenanters, is yet in possession of the family, having passed down through five generations from the first American ancestor. Through her great-grandmother, Margaret Cunningham, wife of Robert Armstrong (2), they trace back to the Makamies, of Augusta County, Va. Through her grandmother, Elizabeth Wear, wife of Robert Armstrong (3), they trace back to Matthew Lyle, of Virginia, and through his wife, Esther Blair, to Esther Pedan, a relative of the distinguished Alexander Pedan. On her father's side her ancestry is also Scotch-Irish. His father came from County Down, Ireland, and his mother, Isabella Mebane, of North Carolina, was ever proud of being Scotch-Irish, and her descendants have been taught to be thankful that their ancestors were patriots and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Amelia I. Chamberlain, wife of Capt H. S. Chamberlain, of Chattanooga, Tenn., sister of Mrs. James A. Anderson, has the same lineage.

ANDERSON, HAMILTON, New York City. 1900.

Born in Dunmurry, near Belfast, County Antrim, Ireland. Ancestors on paternal side (family names Anderson and Hamilton) were of Scotch origin and were long settled near Saintfield, County Down, Ireland. On maternal side (family names Coleman and Ferguson) ancestry also of Scotch origin, and families long settled in County Antrim, near Belfast, Ireland. Attorney and Counselor.

ANDERSON, SAMUEL W., Jersey City. New York. 1899.

Born in Barre Center, Orleans County, N. Y., May 7, 1856. Son of Samuel and Sarah J. (Wallace) Anderson. Grandson of George and Mary (Tweedy) Anderson, who came to New York

from County Down, Ireland, in 1845. Maternal great-great-grandfather was a Scotchman who came to Ireland at the time of the union between Scotland and England, 1707. Employee in Jersey City post office since 1881. Elder in Westminster Presbyterian Church.

BLACKIE, ALEXANDER ROSS, 18 Jane Street, New York City. 1900.

Mother, Mary Kiernan, of Bawn Boy, Ireland. Father (deceased) William Blackie, of Glasgow, Scotland. Bookkeeper and cashier of F. L. Smidth & Co., New York City.

CALDWELL, MRS. M. M., Wytheville, Va. 1899.

Born in Newbern, Pulaski County, Va. Father Gen. James A. Walker, brigadier general in Confederate army. Grandfather Alexander Walker, of Augusta County, who was descended directly from John Walker, a pioneer settler in the Valley of Virginia. He went from Wigton, Scotland, to Ireland and from there to Pennsylvania, and later, about 1730, to Augusta County, Va. His family formed a part of the "Creek Nation" as it was jocularly called, because they settled along a creek which is still known as Walker's Creek. See Stoote's "Sketches of Virginia," page 506.

CUDDAHY, JAMES P., JR., Grand Rapids, Mich. 1897.

Born in Kent County, Mich. Grandparents: James Cuddahy and Johanna Pendergast, and Patrick McEnarey and Mary Pepper.

DAVIS, MISS REBECCA ELIZABETH.

Born in Washington County, Va.; daughter of James Luper and Evelyn McMillan Davis. Her father, son of Robert Davis and Nancy McMillan, grandson of John Davis and Mary Allison (also a grandson of William McMillan)—all of Virginia. Her mother, daughter of John McMillan, of whose father Ramsey says: "Alexander McMillan, Scotch-Irish, landed at Boston in 1775; joined the army of the rebels, then starting on the hazardous expedition to Quebec, and his last military service was in the decisive battle of the revolutionary war at King's Mountain." He married his cousin, Margaret McMillan, of Washington County, Va., and moved to Knox County, Tenn. Her mother's mother, Jane Meek, was a daughter of John Meek and Jane McCutchen, of Virginia, a descendant of John McCutchen, Scotch-Irish, who came to Virginia about 1750. (The name "McCutchen" ends in en, an, eon, according to fancy.) William McMillan, a pioneer settler and one of the founders of

Cincinnati, Ohio, and first delegate to Congress from the Northwest Territory, was an uncle of both her father and mother. A history of the settlement of Cincinnati says: "William McMillan, an eminent lawyer and one of the founders of Cincinnati, was born and reared near Abingdon, Va.; a son of William McMillan, a Scotch Presbyterian of the strictest order, who educated him for the ministry. But the son preferred law, and when he announced his intention to study and practice that profession, his distressed father remonstrated with him until at last William agreed to preach on condition he could use "Watts's version of the Psalms." The amazed and disappointed father rebuked him severely, but never mentioned the subject to him again."

ELLIOTT, JAMES CALVIN, Greenville, Darke County, Ohio. 1899.

Born September 17, 1847, in Dixon Township, Preble County, Ohio. Great-grandfather and great-grandmother Daniel Elliott and Elizabeth Ferguson, who emigrated from Pennsylvania to Chester County, S. C., at the close of the French and Indian war, Daniel Elliott being killed by Tories in 1780. See Mrs. Ellet's "Heroic Women of the Revolution" for account of Jane Brown. Grandfather and grandmother Ebenezer Elliott, 1771-1849, and Esther Gaston, 1770-1814; granddaughter of King's Justice, John Gaston, of South Carolina. Father and mother, John Elliott and Margaret McMillan; born 1803-1875 and died 1813-1858. Attorney at law. Prosecuting Attorney for Darke County, Ohio, from 1886 to 1893.

GEDDES, NORMAN, Adrian, Mich. 1897.

Born in Livonia, Livingston County, N. Y. The family is of Scotch origin. Paul Geddes, the earliest member I am able to trace, was born about 1660-70 and died about 1720-30. He married a widow McEdry, and had issue, James Geddes (2), but whether other issue I cannot state. James Geddes (2), son of Paul (1), born 1704, died 1764. Married Margaret Muir and had three sons: Paul (3), born 1732 in Ireland, died May 25, 1814; William (4), born 1735 in Ireland, died 1789; Samuel (5), born 1739 in Ireland, died 1789. In about 1752 James Geddes (2), with his sons Paul (3), William (4), and Samuel (5), came from County Antrim, Ireland, to America, settling near Derry Church, in what is now Dauphin County, Pa. Paul Geddes (3), son of James (2), was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. He married Margaret McCool and left six children,

among whom was Elizabeth Geddes (6), my mother, born December 17, 1779, died February 22, 1865. Samuel (5) left four children, the oldest Samuel (7), my father, born February 26, 1775, died August 23, 1848. Samuel (7) married his cousin Elizabeth (6). They left six children, Norman being the youngest. Was born in Livingston County, N. Y., April 14, 1823, and has four children: Frederick, a lawyer at Toledo, Ohio; Herbert, a printer, living at Kalamazoo; Harriet E. Van Brune, living at Saginaw, Mich.; and Clifton T., living at Adrian, Mich. In 1895 Norman Geddes had published a genealogical history of all the descendants of James Geddes (2), printed by William F. Geddes, Jr., of Philadelphia. Lawyer; Mayor of the city of Adrian; Recorder of said city three years; Justice of the Peace; Circuit Court Commissioner four years; Judge of Probate Court nine years; member of Board of Trustees of State Asylum for the Insane twelve years; President of Board of Trustees of Adrian College twenty-six years; Trustee and Treasurer of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Adrian fifteen years; Director of Commercial Savings Bank of Adrian since its organization.

HAMPSON, THOMAS MITCHELL, Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.

Born in Gustnaghy, Londonderry, Ireland. I know nothing of my father's antecedents, but my mother was a descendant of the Mitchells, from Derry. John Mitchell, the Irish patriot, was a cousin. Lieutenant of police Twelfth District of Philadelphia; messenger clerk and foreman for Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company; harbor police; harbor pilot; reserve officer; sergeant and lieutenant of police of Philadelphia, Pa.

LAMBERTON, JAMES McCORMICK, Harrisburg, Pa. 1897.

Born in Harrisburg, Pa. Son of the late Hon. Robert Alexander Lamberton, President of Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa. Lawyer.

LOWRY, REV. T. M.

Native of Yorkville, S. C.; son of Capt. John Thomas Lowry and Martha Bratton Lowry. Ancestors on both sides came from the North of Ireland and settled in Pennsylvania. The "Lowry" is spelled by some of them "Lawrie," and tradition in the family says it was originally "Laurie." The Lowrys were forced to leave Ireland by reason of persecutions and were Covenanters in religion; settled in Pennsylvania and moved in a colony and settled in Fairfield County, S. C., in a neighborhood

known as Rocky River. The Brattons left North of Ireland, went to Pennsylvania, and moved to York County, S. C. His great-great-grandfather, Col. William Bratton, was prominent in the war of the revolution. All were—both sides of the house—Whigs in the revolution.

MAGEE, JOHN, Corning, N. Y. 1897.

Born in Watkins, N. Y. Grandfather, Harry Magee, came from County Antrim, Ireland, about 1780. His wife was a native of Ayrshire, Scotland; her mother also coming from the same place. President of the Fall Brook Railway Company; colonel upon staff of ex-Gov. Flowers, of New York State.

MCCAMANT, WALLACE, Portland, Oregon. 1897.

Born September 22, 1867, in Hollidaysburg, Pa. Son of Thomas McCamant; grandson of Graham McCamant; great-grandson of James McCamant, an ensign in the revolutionary war; great-great-grandson of William McCamant; great-great-great-grandson of Alexander McCamant, who emigrated from County Down, Ireland, to Philadelphia about 1775; settled in Pequa Valley, Pa. Lawyer; Master in Chancery in U. S. Circuit Court for the District of Oregon; was a delegate from Oregon to Republican National Convention of 1896.

MCCLURE, SAMUEL S., 141 East Forty-Fifth Street, New York City, 1899.

Born in County Antrim, Ireland. Publisher and editor; President of S. S. McClure Company and Trustee of Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.

MCCORMICK, SETH T., Williamsport, Pa. 1900.

Born in Lycoming County, Pa.; son of Seth T. McCormick; grandson of Seth McCormick (2); great-grandson of Seth McCormick (1). Lawyer.

MCCROSKEY, E. E.

Mr. McCroskey claims his Scotch-Irish descent from his father. His grandfather, of this name, came to this country in 1726, and settled in Rockbridge County, Va.

NEWMAN, JOHN GRANT, Maryville, Tenn.

Born October 16, 1862. He is a son of Samuel Blair Newman and Nancy Elizabeth Rankin. Samuel Blair Newman was a son of John Newman and Jane Kennedy Caldwell. John Newman's parents were Aaron Newman and Catherine Blair, both of whom came to Tennessee from Virginia in or about 1794. Catherine Blair was a daughter of one Mr. Blair and Florence Hutchison.

John Grant Newman's mother was Nancy Elizabeth Rankin. In 1727 one John Rankin came from Ireland to Philadelphia, Pa. This man had a son, Thomas Rankin, who had in his family six sons. Richard and Thomas were two of the six. Richard was the father of John Rankin of Ripley, Ohio, of anti-slavery fame. Thomas was the father of Christopher Rankin, who was the father of Nancy E. Rankin Newman, the mother of this John Grant Newman. They were all Presbyterians, and have given the country and the Church twelve preachers and twenty-five elders.

PATTON, JOHN, Grand Rapids, Mich. 1899.

Born in Curwensville, Clearfield County, Pa. Great-grandfather, Col. John Patton (page 168, proceedings Eighth Congress Scotch-Irish Society); grandfather, Lieut. John Patton, U. S. Navy; father, Hon. John Patton, late of Curwensville, Pa. Twice a member of Congress; lawyer; appointed by Governor of Michigan U. S. Senator May 5, 1894, on death of Senator Stockbridge, and served until his successor was elected by Legislature January, 1895.

POLLOCK, MRS. ARABELLA, Kittaning, Pa. 1898.

Born in Rural Village, Armstrong County, Pa. Charles Hamilton, born near Glasgow, Scotland, married an Irish woman named Betsey Blair. Arabella Hamilton (Scotch-Irish) was born in Scotland; emigrated to America in 1770; married in Philadelphia, Pa., to Thomas Jones, a Welshman. Rachel Jones, born August 18, 1772, died February 14, 1849, married April 21, 1801, to Joseph Cogley. Joseph Cogley was born 1777, and died in 1851. Matilda Cogley was born in Kittaning, Pa., December 1, 1816; married May 1, 1839, to Robert Robinson; died September 19, 1896. (Robert Robinson was born August 12, 1817, and died March 6, 1849.) Arabella Robinson, daughter of Robert A. Robinson and Matilda Cogley, granddaughter of Joseph Cogley and Rachel Jones, great-granddaughter of Thomas Jones and Arabella Hamilton, great-great-granddaughter of Charles Hamilton and Betsy Blair, was born at Rural Village, Pa., April 22, 1843; married September 19, 1861, to William Pollock. (William Pollock was born in Clarion County, Pa., March 21, 1832.)

POLLOCK, MISS HELEN MAR, Kittaning, Pa. 1898.

Born in Kittaning, Pa.; daughter of William Pollock. See following. The Pennsylvania Pollocks are all Scotch-Irish and are

supposed to have descended from Petrus, son of Culbert, who succeeded his father and assumed as a surname the name of his hereditary land of Pollock in Renfrewshire. He lived in the reign of Malcolm IV., who died in 1695. Great-great-great-grandfather, Dr. Thomas Pollock, of Coleraine, Ireland.

POLLOCK, WILLIAM, Kittaning, Armstrong County, Pa. 1895.

Born in Clarion County, Pa. Father, Charles Pollock, of Clarion County, Pa.; grandfather William Pollock, of Clarion County, Pa.; great-grandfather, Charles Pollock, of Northumberland County, Pa. Cashier of the National Bank of Kittaning, Pa.

ROBERTS, MRS. ALICE DAVIS.

Born in Washington County, Va.; mother's name McMillan; paternal grandmother also named McMillan. Father's name James Leeper Davis; closely related to the McCutchen's, Mofatts, Allison's, Mitchells, Craigs, Grays, Andersons, and Willoughby's—all of Virginia. Ancestors are all Scotch-Irish and Welsh.

ROWAN, WILLIAM HENRY, 687 E. 160th St., New York City. 1900.

Son of Hon. Clarke Rowan, of Larne, Ireland, and Sarah Trimble Rowan, of Corkstown, County Tyrone, Ireland. Printer and writer.

SMALL, SAMUEL, JR., York, Pa. 1898.

SMYTH, SAMUEL GORDON, West Conshohocken, Montgomery County, Pa. 1898.

Born July 24, 1859, at Penn's Manor, Bucks County, Pa. Parents emigrated in youth from Ulster, Ireland, about 1835. They came to Philadelphia, Pa., and were married by Rev. Dr. Blackwood September 21, 1851; father, Jonathan Smyth, son of James and Martha Gray Smyth of "The Mullans" Furoy, County Antrim, Ireland; mother, Elizabeth, daughter of John and Sarah Mac Alus Ritchie, of Barkhill, Kelsea, County Derry, Ireland: Secretary; elder and trustee of the Conshohocken Presbyterian Church; Commissioner to Synod at Bellefonte, Pa., October, 1896; member of the Town Council of West Conshohocken, Pa., from 1894 to 1897; President of that organization in 1896-97; President of the Board of Health; trustee of the Montgomery and member of the Montgomery County and Bucks County (Pa.) Historical Societies; member of Fritz Lodge No. 420 F. and A. M., Conshohocken, Pa.; member of Philadelphia National Lodge No. 223, and of National Encampment No. 47, I. O. O. F., Philadelphia, Pa.

SMYTH, WILLIAM, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1897.

Born at Gilgad Kells, County Antrim, Ireland.

STEWART, MRS. CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH, Redclyffe, Forest County, Pa. 1897.

Born in New York City; daughter of Solomon, from Kittinney, Ireland, and Elizabeth A. Boyd, of New York, daughter of John Boyd, from County Armagh, Ireland.

TAYLOR, T. C., Madison, Madison County, Va. 1897.

Born in Madison, Va. On his father's side all are supposed to be entirely of English extraction. Benjamin Taylor, Sr., had two sons and two daughters; Benjamin Taylor, Jr., had three sons, Charles, Benjamin, and James. Charles Taylor married Elizabeth Pannill between 1740 and 1749, and had eight children, four of the sons serving in the revolution. Thomas Taylor, the youngest son, married Frances Barbour, of Richmond County, Va., and had six children, four sons and two daughters. The oldest, Pannill Taylor, married first Millie Brown, and had two children, Dr. John W. Taylor and M. Frances Taylor. M. Frances Taylor married Dr. H. W. Gordon. Dr. John Taylor married Rebecca Crawford and has four children, Terrill C. Taylor, G. Haywood Taylor, W. Stuart Taylor, and Blanche Taylor Hunton, all of Madison and Culpeper Counties, Va.

THOMPSON, THADDEUS A. L., Steubenville, Ohio. 1898.

Thaddeus A. Lincoln Thompson, the youngest son of Alexander Scroggs Thompson and Jane S. Bootes, was born August 17, 1864, on a farm near Steubenville, Jefferson County, Ohio. His father was the second son of Hugh Thompson and Elizabeth Scroggs; his grandfather was the youngest son of John Thompson and Susan Laughlin, who came from Ulster, Ireland, to Newville, Cumberland County, Pa., in 1740, and were pioneer settlers of that county. They were both Scotch-Irish, their people coming to Ulster from near Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1624. The subject of this sketch is a graduate, with a degree of A.B., of Franklin College in 1887; a graduate of the Cincinnati Law School in 1890; and for the past eight years has been engaged in the practice of law in Steubenville, Ohio, having in the meantime been official court stenographer for the counties of Jefferson and Harrison for four years.

WADDELL, B. B., Helena, Ark. 1900.

Grandson of John Waddell, who was son of William Waddell, who emigrated to North Carolina in 1765. The following

gives a brief sketch of the family: An appendix to the old Scotch book called "A Cloud of Witnesses" says: "Anno 1679, of the prisoners taken at Bothwell were banished to America, two hundred and fifty, who were taken away by — Patterson, a merchant of Leith, who transacted for them with Provost Milus Laird, of Branton, the man that first burnt the covenant: whereof two hundred were drowned by shipwreck at a place called the Mulhead of Darness, near Orkney, being shut up by said Patterson's order beneath the hatches. Of the two hundred and fifty, fifty escaped. The fifty men who escaped made their way into the North of Ireland, and were not further troubled." Among them was William Waddell, of Monkland. The descendants of William Waddell who came to America in the eighteenth century were Gen. Hugh Waddell, of the colony of North Carolina (see "Colonial Officer," 1754-73), Rev. James Waddell, of Virginia, celebrated as the blind preacher (see "Annals of Virginia"), Rev. Moses Waddell of Athens, Ga., and John Waddell of Tennessee — sons of William Waddell, who emigrated to North Carolina in 1765. (See "Memoirs of Waddell family.")

WALLACE, JOHN JAMES, 5430 Ohio Street, Austin Post Office, Ill. 1900.

Son of Dr. John and Eliza (Burns) Wallace, of Milford, N. H.; he the son of Deacon John and Mary (Bradford) Wallace; he the son of William and Mary (Burns) Wallace; he the son of Joseph and Margaret Wallace, who emigrated to the United States from Ireland in 1726, and settled in Londonderry, N. H. Their son William was then 6 years old.

WILSON, THOMAS, St. Paul, Minn. 1900.

Born in County Tyrone, Ireland. Both parents Scotch-Irish; attorney at law; member of Constitutional Convention and of House of Representatives and Senate of Minnesota; chief justice of the State, and member of the Fiftieth Congress of the United States.

